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THE
Indian National Congress.
1920—1923.

Being a collection of the resolutions of the Congress and of the All India Congress Committee and of the Working Committee of the Congress from September 1920 to December 1923.

ALLAHABAD.
AT THE ALLAHABAD LAW JOURNAL PRESS
1924

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PREFACE.

This book has been prepared in compliance with the directions of the All India Congress Committee This committee decided at Cocanada, immediately after the Congress, that all resolutions of the Congress, the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee, together with a statement of accounts, should be printed yearly with the annual report It was further decided that all the resolutions of the Congress, the All India Committee and the Working Committee, from the Calcutta Special Session in 1920 to the Cocanada Session in December 1923, be published in convenient form.

This book thus deals with the period beginning with the adoption of the policy of non-co-operation by the Calcutta Special Session to the end of 1923 To make the record complete the resolutions of the All India Congress Committee, which met at Benares on May 30th and 31st 1920, dealing with the Khilafat question and the Punjab enquiry and summoning a Special Session of the Congress to consider the adoption of non-co-operation, are also given.

The detailed audited accounts of the Tilak Swaraj Fund for the past three years have been published annually in book form It is not possible to incorporate them in this book without disproportionately increasing its size. Only brief statements of accounts are therefore given.

Care has been taken to avoid errors but many mistakes must have crept in in spite of every effort. One such mistake, small in itself but liable to mislead greatly, I should like to point out here. On page 76 the amount of Tilak Swaraj Fund collections shown opposite the United Provinces is Rs 41,10,304. This should be Rs. 4,10,304

The main burden of seeing this book through the press has fallen on my colleague, Syt. Raghupati Sahai, the Under-Secretary of the All India Congress Committee.

ALLAHABAD.
25th November 1924

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
General Secretary,
A. I. C. C.

Resolutions relating to the Punjab Enquiry, the Turkish situation and the summoning of a special session of the Congress to consider the adoption of non-cooperation, passed by the All India Congress Committee at Benares on 30th and 31st May 1920 :—

3. That, having carefully considered the report of the Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Enquiry Sub Committee, the Hunter Committee's report as well as the despatches of the Government of India and the Secretary of State thereon, the All India Congress Committee resolves :—

(*a*) that the thanks of the Committee be conveyed to the members of the Punjab Enquiry Sub-Committee and the Commissioners appointed by them for the great industry and judicial care with which they have collected the evidence and written their report, which is supported not only by the evidence recorded by them but also by the evidence given before the Hunter Committee, and expresses its concurrence with the findings of fact arrived at by the said commissioners.

(*b*) that a petition be presented to Parliament on the subject of the Punjab tragedy and that Parliament be requested to take immediate steps to institute proceedings, by way of impeachment or otherwise, to bring Sir Michael O'Dwyer to justice in respect of his oppressive regime in the Punjab and especially of his responsibility in connection with the events of 1919 in the Punjab.

(*c*) that the British Congress Committee and the Congress Delegation in England be authorised and requested to take immediate action to move the British Parliament and the British public with a view to secure full justice in the matter.

(*d*) that Parliament be requested to take such steps as are necessary to place General Dyer, Col. Johnson, Col. O'Brien and Mr. Bosworth Smith before His Majesty's Court of Justice in

Great Britain for the cruelties committed by them in April and May, 1919, in Amritsar, Gujranwala, Kasur and other places in the Punjab.

And urges:—

(*e*) that the Rowlatt Act should be repealed,

(*f*) that Rai Sahib Sri Ram Sud and Malik Sahib Khan be dismissed and prosecuted.

(*g*) that a local enquiry be instituted into the corrupt practices of minor officials whose names have been mentioned in the statements published in the Congress Commission's report and that they should be dismissed and prosecuted, where sufficient evidence is available.

(*h*) that His Excellency the Viceroy be recalled.

(*i*) that the fines collected from the people who were convicted by the special tribunals and Summary Courts be refunded and all indemnities imposed on the cities affected be remitted, that wherever the same have been collected they should be refunded and that compensation be awarded to those who have suffered in the disturbances or whose relations have fallen victims and have themselves been left unprovided for.

(*j*) that a Sub-Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to draft the petition to Parliament:—

The Hon'ble Pt. Motilal Nehru.

The Hon'ble Pt. M. M. Malaviya.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

Mr. C. R. Das.

Mr. M R. Jayakar.

The Hon'ble Pt. Gokaran Nath Misra (convener).

4. That the All India Congress Committee records its indignan protest against the general policy and attitude of the Secretary o State for India on the Punjab affairs as disclosed in his despatch on the Hunter Committee's report and against the action of H'

Majesty's Government in accepting the principal recommendations of the majority of the Hunter Committee and in disposing of the grave and vital issues involved in the Punjab tragedy, affecting the conduct of their responsible agents, without giving an opportunity for public criticism or debate in the Houses of Parliament on the gross outrages committed on His Majesty's subjects in India.

5. That the All India Congress Committee desires to place on record its profound disappointment and dissatisfaction with the report of the majority of the Hunter Committee on the events of last year in the Punjab and elsewhere and its complete dissent from their principal findings and recommendations.

. That the All India Congress Committee records its opinion that the inquiry conducted by the Hunter Gommittee was incomplete, one-sided and unsatisfactory by reason of the refusal to grant the necessary facilities asked for by the Congress Sub-Committee to enable it to tender evidence, thereby shutting out important evidence and specially that of the very leaders of the Punjab whose acts, among other things, the Committee was called upon to investigate.

7. That the All India Congress Committee deplores that the report of the majority of the Hunter Committee should be tainted with racial bias and a desire to overlook and justify the manifest and proved grave acts of commission and omission of the Government of India and the Punjab Government and the many acts of inhumanity perpetrated by officers appointed during the Martial Law regime and that it should thus accentuate the tendency to count Indian life and honour as of little consequence.

8. That the All India Congress Committee unhesitatingly rejects the conclusion of the majority that the Punjab was in a state of open rebellion and accepts the conslusions of the minority and the Indian member of the Government of India to the contrary.

9. That the All India Congress Committee considers that the Government of India and the Punjab Government grievously erred in proclaiming Martial Law in the Punjab in every case after the disturbances had been quelled, in allowing it to be inhumanly adminis-

ered, and in continuing its adminstration for periods altogether too long,

10. That the All India Congress Committee is clearly of opinion that Satyagraha was not responsible in any manner or degree for the disturbances in the Punjab and elsewhere and entirely dissents from the conclusions of the majority and minority of the Hunter Committee on this point; on the contrary the Committee places its emphatic conviction on record that the teachings of Mr. Gandhi and the Satyagraha movement exprcised a great restrainsng influence on the people in all parts of the country during a period of anxiety and excitement

11. (*a*) That All India Congress Committee regrets to learn that nearly 88 persons who were imprisoned in connection with last year's troubles in the Punjab and under sentences of Martial Law Tribunals are still undergoing imprisonment, and requests His Excellency the Viceroy and His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab to set them at liberty in conformity with His Majesty's Gracious Proclamation of December last.

(*b*) That, in view of the special circumstances of the cases of Ratan Chand and Bugga Chaudhri, the Committee appeals to the Government of India and the Punjab Government to stop their contemplated transportation to the Andaman Islands.

12. That a Sub-Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to collect funds for progapanda and other work in connection with the wrongs of the Punjab. (The names have been omitted).

13. The All India Congress Committee is emphatically of opinion that the peace terms offered to Turkey conritute a flagrant violation of the solemn pledges of His Majesty's Government, and are in complete disregard of the principle of national self-determination accepted by the allied powers and of the Muslim religious sentiment in India. Having regard to the fact that the resources of India were freely used during the war in Asia the Committee deplores that their employment should have eventuated, under the

terms of the said treaty, in the virtual destruction of the power and prestige of the Khilafat and the removal of the Holy Places of Islam from the custody and control of the Khalifa and their being placed under Christian influence or control.

The Committee strongly urges that, in the interest of peace and contentment in India, the terms of the Turkish Treaty should be revised to bring them into conformity with the said pledges and the just sentiments of Indian Mussulmans.

14. This Committee resolves that in view of the general situation in India with reference to Indian public feeling on the Turkish Peace terms, the action of His Majesty's Government regarding the Punjab atrocities and the policy being pursued in giving effect to the Reform Scheme through the proposed draft Rules and Regulations, a Special Session of the Congress be convened at Calcutta as early as possible and not later than the 15th September, 1920, to consider the adoption of a policy of non-cooperation or of any other suitable course of action.

15. That the Provincial Congress Committees be invited to submit as early as possible to the General Secretaries their views on the principle and programme of non-cooperation and that this Committee should meet to consider those views some time before the Special Session of the Congress

CALCUTTA SPECIAL SESSION 1920

An extraordinary session of the Indian National Congress was held in Calcutta on 4th, 6th, 8th and 9th September 1920. Syt. B. Chakravarti was Chairman of the Reception Committee and Lala Lajpat Rai was president of the session.

CALCUTTA SPECIAL SESSION 1920

The following resolutions were passed by the Congress at this Special Session :—

I.

The late Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

This Congress places on record its sense of deep and profound sorrow at the death of Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak. The stainless purity of his life, his services and sufferings in the cause of his country, his deep devotion to the welfare of the people, his arduous endeavours in the fight for national autonomy—these will enshrine his memory in the grateful recollections of our people, and will be a source of strength and inspiration to countless generations of our countrymen. At this crisis in the history of the nation, the Congress will sorely miss his wise, helpful and courageous leadership, the lofty inspiration of his radiant patriotism, and the healing benediction of his counsel in difficulty.

II.

The late Dr. Mahendra Nath Ohdedar.

This Congress records its deep sense of grief at the loss sustained by the country in the death of Dr. Mahendra Nath Ohdedar, a true patriot, a distinguished servant of the country, and a courageous champion of the cause of the people.

III.

Thanks to the Punjab Enquiry Sub-Committee and the Commissioners appointed by them.

(a) That the thanks of this Congress be conveyed to the members of the Punjab Enquiry Sub-Committee and the Commissioners appointed by them for the great industry and judicial care with which they have collected the evidence and written their report, which is supported not only by the evidence recorded by them, but also by the evidence given before the Hunter Committee; and the Congress expresses its concurrence with the findings of fact arrived at by the said Commissioners.

Majority-report of the Hunter-Committee.

(b) This Congress expresses its deep and bitter disappointment at the drift, tone and tendency of the majority-report of the Hunter Committee in as much as,

(i) The report submitted by the majority of the Hunter Committee is tainted by bias and race prejudice, based on insufficient consideration of evidence, and characterised by a too obvious desire to slur over the proved and manifest inequities of the Government officials concerned, and to whitewash the conduct of the Punjab Government and the Government of India ;

(ii) The said report is unacceptable and unreliable as it is based upon evidence which is incomplete, one-sided and biassed by self-interest ;

(iii) The findings arrived at in the majority report are not justified even upon the evidence

actually on record, and in any case, their recommendations fall far short of the minimum legitimate requirements of the case.

The Government of India's review of the Hunter Committee's reports.

(c) That, with reference to the Government of India's review of the two reports of the Hunter Committee the Congress records its deliberate opinion,

(i) that the said review accepts the findings of the majority without sifting or discrimination ;

(ii) That it pays scant and inadequate consideration to the arguments and findings of the minority report, although such arguments and findings are amply borne out by the evidence on record ;

(iii) That the whole drift and tendency of the said review is not to arrive at a just and impartial finding on fact, but to hush up the whole affair, and to throw a veil upon the misdeeds of the officials concerned ;

(iv) That the action proposed to be taken in the review with reference to the conduct of guilty officials is grossly and utterly inadequate to the gravity of the state of things disclosed, and has dispelled all illusions about the fairness of British justice.

IV.

This Congress expresses its sense of bitter dis-

The Punjab atrocities and the British Cabinet.

appointment at the British Cabinet's failure to take adequate action with reference to the atrocities of the Punjab, at their acquiescence in the recommendations of the Government of India, and their practical condonation of the misdeeds of the Punjab officials.

This Congress is further of opinion that, in spite of the fine and lofty sentiments expressed in their despatch, the British Cabinet by their failure to take adequate action have forfeited the confidence of the people of India.

V.

The Non-co-operation Resolution.

In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both the Indian and Imperial Governments have signally failed in their duty towards the Mussalmans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them, and that it is the duty of every non-moslem Indian in every legitimate manner to assist his Mussalman brother in his attempt to remove the religious calamity that has overtaken him;

And in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of the April of 1919 both the said Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab, and punish officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behaviour towards them, and have exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer who proved himself, directly or indirectly, responsible for most of the official crimes, and callous to the sufferings of the people placed under his administration, and that the debate in the House of Commons and specially in the

House of Lords betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India, and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab, and that the latest Viceregal pronouncement is proof of entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab ;

This Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without redress of the two aforementioned wrongs and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swarajya. This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive, non-violent Non-co-operation inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi until the said wrongs are righted and Swarajya is established.

And in as much as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto moulded and represented public opinion, and in as much as Government consolidates its power through titles and honours bestowed on the people, through schools controlled by it, its law courts, and its legislative councils, and in as much as it is desirable in the prosecution of the movement to take the minimum risk and to call for the least sacrifice, compatible with the attainment of the desired object, this Congress earnestly advises—

Surrender of Titles.

(*a*) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies ;

(*b*) refusal to attend Government Levees, Durbars, and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour ;

Durbars.

(*c*) gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government, and in place of such schools and colleges, establishment of National schools and colleges in the various provinces ;

Schools and Colleges.

(*d*) gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants, and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid, for the settlement of private disputes ;

Courts.

(*e*) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia ;

Recruiting.

(*f*) withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed councils, and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election ;

Councils.

(*g*) boycott of foreign goods.

Foreign goods.

And in as much as Non-co-operation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice without which no nation can make real progress, and in as much as an opportunity should be given in the very first stage of Non-co-operation to every man, woman

Hand-weaving and hand-spinning.

and child, for such discipline and self-sacrifice, this Congress advises adoption of *Swadeshi* in piece-goods on a vast scale, and in as much as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the nation, and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement.

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

A meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was held at 38, Theatre Road, Calcutta, on Thursday the 9th September 1920 at 5 P. M. with the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in the Chair.

Sixtythree members were present.

The following resolutions were passed :—

Framing Instructions to carry out N. C. O. resolution.

I. That a Sub-Committee consisting of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhiji and Mr. Patel be appointed to frame instructions to carry out the resolution of the Congress on Non-co-operation and the Sub-Committee be directed to submit the draft instructions for consideration and necessary action to the All-India Congress Committee at its next meeting to be held in Bombay as early as possible.

Lokmanya Memorial.

II. That a Sub-Committee consisting of (1) Mr. Jinnah, (2) Mr. Joseph Baptista, (3) Mr. Umar Sobani, (4) Jamnadas Dwarkadas, (5) Mr. V. J. Patel and (6) Mr. N. C. Kelkar be appointed to consider and report on the question of raising an All-India Memorial to the Late Lokamanya Tilak, with instructions that the report should be submitted before the next meeting of the All-India Congress Committee to be held in Bombay.

The meeting was then dissolved with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

Proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee Meeting held in the Presidency Association rooms, Bombay, on Saturday the 2nd October 1920, with Pandit Motilal Nehru in the Chair.

Thirtyfour members were present.

Minutes of the last meeting.

I. The minutes of the meetings of the All-India Congress Committee held at Calcutta on September 3rd and 9th 1920 respectively were confirmed.

Nagpore Petition

II. Resolved that the petition of the Nagpore Reception Committee asking for extension of time in regard to the election of President be granted, and that the time be accordingly extended to 20th October 1920.

Tilak Memorial Fund.

III. (*a*) That an All-India Lokamanya Tilak Memorial Fund be started, and that the different Provincial Congress Committees be invited to collect subscriptions.

(*b*) That the sub-committee appointed at Calcutta by this Committee on 9th September 1920 to consider and report on the question of raising an All India Memorial to the late Lokamanya Tilak be asked to make a further report, publish it in the press, obtain the opinions of the Provincial Congress Committees, circulate them to the members of the All-India Congress Committee, and submit the same to this Committee at its next meeting.

IV. The All-India Congress Committee, after considering the report of the Sub-Committee appointed at Calcutta on 9th September to draft instructions to carry out the resolution of the Congress on Non-

Co-operation and Mr. Patel's note, resolves to issue the following instructions :—

Calcutta Special Congress Resolution.

In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both the Indian and Imperial Governments have signally failed in their duty towards the Mussalmans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them and that it is the duty of every non-Moslem Indian in every legitimate manner to assist his Mussalman brother in his attempt to remove the religious calamity that has overtaken him.

And in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of April 1919 both the said Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab and punish officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behaviour towards them, and have exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer who proved himself, directly or indirectly, responsible for most of the official crimes and callous to the sufferings of the people placed under his administration and that the debate in the House of Commons and specially in the House of Lords, betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab, and that the latest Viceregal pronouncement is proof of an entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab ;

This Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without the redress of the two

aforementioned wrongs, and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swarajya. This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent Non-Co-operation inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi until the said wrongs are righted and Swarajya is established.

And inasmuch as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto moulded and represented public opinion, and inasmuch as Government consolidates its power through titles and honours bestowed on the people, through schools controlled by it, its law-courts and its legislative Councils, and inasmuch as it is desirable in the prosecution of the movement to take the minimum risk and to call for the least sacrifice compatible with the attainment of the desired object, this Congress earnestly advises:—

(a) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies ;

(b) refusal to attend Government levees, durbars and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour ;

(c) gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government, and in place of such schools and colleges, establishment of Na-

tional schools and colleges in the various Provinces;

(d) gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants, and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid, for the settlement of private disputes ;

(e) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia ;

(f) withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election ;

(g) boycott of foreign goods.

And inasmuch as Non-co-operation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice without which no nation can make real progress, and inasmuch as an opportunity should be given in the very first stage of Non-co-operation to every man, woman and child, for such discipline and self sacrifice, this Congress advises adoption of *Swadeshi* in piece-goods on a vast scale, and inasmuch as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the nation, and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving

hand-spinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement.

Instructions to carry out the Resolution.

(*a*) *Boycott of Titles.*—Workers in every town, taluqa and district should compile a list of such holders of titles and honorary offices, and a small deputation of the leading non-co-operationists should wait upon such holders, and with all respect and humility, urge upon them the necessity of surrendering their titles and honorary offices for the good of the country. No undue pressure of any kind whatsoever should be exercised. Violence of language should be scrupulously avoided, and lists of those who have not surrendered their titles and offices should be furnished to the provincial head-quarters for publication. Those who have already surrendered their titles and honorary offices will be expected to induce others to do likewise. Those who hold such titles and offices and who have voted for non-co-operation are naturally expected immediately to surrender their titles and offices, mentioning the purpose, viz., the resolution of the Congress.

(*b*) *Boycott of Government Functions.*—(1) Deputations and public meetings to ask Durbaris to have their names removed from the list. (2) Deputations and public meetings to be organised on the occasion of a levee, Durbar or such other function in order to urge upon persons likely to attend them, the necessity

of abandoning the idea for the good of the country. (3) When any function is being organized by Government, a local body, an association, or any private individual, in honour of an officer of Government, similar steps should be taken to induce people not to attend such a function. Deputations and public meetings should also be organised to request local bodies, associations or private individuals not to give any address to any officer of Government, or hold or organise any function in his honour.

(c) *Boycott of schools and colleges aided or controlled by the Government.*—We advise gradual withdrawal of boys and girls from schools and colleges and earnest attempts to establish National Institutions. Meanwhile reliance should be placed upon private education and where even that is not available or possible for want of means, boys should be apprenticed to patriotic merchants or artizans. Vigorous propaganda should be organised and carried on amongst the parents, schoolmasters and schoolboys who are over the age of 18 years. Canvassing should go on for volunteer teachers, and where parents and schools other than those under direct Government control agree, those schools should give immediate notice to the Government dispensing with all control or aid by way of inspection or otherwise. They should be conducted as national schools with such modifications in the training as local circumstances may require. If men of education take interest in this movement of truly nationalising our education, local committees of inspection and guidance

may be formed ultimately resulting in provincial or district universities. Lists of parents who have withdrawn their children, or boys who have themselves withdrawn, and of schoolmasters who have resigned, and lists of local schools established, as also of volunteer teachers, should be sent to the provincial head-quarters and should be published.

(N. B.) By 'a National Institution' is meant any educational institution that does not receive any aid from Government, is not in any way controlled or inspected by Government, and is not affiliated to any University established by Government.

(*d*) *Boycott of law courts.*—Those lawyers who suspend practice and who require to be supported, should be supported by the nation, either by utilising their services for national schools, or in connection with private arbitration or for propaganda work. A deputation such as has been suggested for holders of titles etc., should also wait upon lawyers and ascertain their wishes. Lists of lawyers in each town or district should be prepared marking out those who may suspend their practice and forwarded to the provincial head-quarters for publication.

Lawyers should help in inducing parties not only to refer future disputes to arbitration but also to withdraw cases now pending in the British Courts and submit them to the National Arbitration Courts.

District Committees should make lists of lawyers and other prominent citizens commanding public confidence who are to preside over Arbitration Courts.

As there is at present no machinery to enforce the orders of Arbitration Courts, some kind of social boycott should be imposed on parties who fail to carry out such orders.

It has been pointed out that certain lawyers who are ready and willing to suspend their practice immediately, are not in a position to do so completely at a moment's notice, as they have already entered into engagements from which, as honourable men, they cannot withdraw without the consent of their clients. In these cases the lawyers will be expected to attend only to such engagements and to make every endeavour to cease to practice completely at the earliest possible date.

(*e*) *Boycott of Councils.*—The boycott of councils being of immediate importance, it requires the greatest concentration of energy to make it as complete as possible. Candidates who have already come forward should be approached by deputations requesting them to withdraw their candidature and electors should be approached to sign the following form:—

"In view and in virtue of the resolution of the Special Session of the National Congress and the All-India Moslem League we being voters in the..... electoral district of..... for election to the reformed councils hereby place on record our desire that we do not wish to be represented at the Provincial Legislative Council (or the Legislative Assembly or the Council of State), and hereby inform all candidates

for election that if they seek election in spite of our wishes to the contrary, they will not represent us. We do hereby declare further that we do not desire to be represented on any legislative bodies until full Swaraj is established, which alone can make impossible the repetition of the Punjab atrocities and breach of solemn pledges as in the matter of the Khilafat.

Lists of those who have withdrawn their candidature and those who persist should be forwarded to the provincial head-quarters. Greatest care should be taken to put the pros and cons before the voters prior to asking them to sign the above-mentioned form which should be translated in the vernacular of the district concerned.

(*f*) *Recruiting of Labour for Mesopotamia.*—Propaganda should be carried on by workers among those who are likely to offer themselves for such services, placing before them the true situation, and then letting them make their choice.

(*g*) *Boycott of Foreign Goods.*—Every Non-co-operator is in duty bound to simplify his or her wants and dispense with all luxuries that are depended on the use of foreign articles.

(*h*) *Swadeshi.*—We attach great importance to Swadeshi in the form of revival of hand-spinning and hand-weaving and distribution of cloth so manufactured. Thousands of workers need special training for this work. Ladies of high station especially should be induced to take up hand-spinning and to

use only such cloth as can be woven out of hand-spun yarn. Classes should be formed in every street. Spinning wheels can be manufactured by any ordinary carpenter. Those taking up this branch of work should communicate with the manager of Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati, near Ahmedabad.

In order to advance the cause of Swadeshi and to check the importation of foreign cloth, deputations should wait on Indian mill-owners with a view to securing reduction of the present high price.

(*i*) *Swaraj Fund.*—It is very necessary that a National Fund should be established for the purpose of carrying into effect the Congress resolution. Funds will be required for propaganda work, for encouraging Swadeshi, for establishing national schools and for supporting lawyers who have suspended their practice and are unable to support themselves. Provincial Congress Committees with the help of District and other organisations should therefore make every endeavour to collect funds and submit monthly reports of receipts and expenditure to the All-India Congress Committee.

(*j*) *Volunteer Corps.*—Provincial, District and Town organisations should form volunteer corps for the purpose of disciplining the people and maintaining order.

(*k*) Finally we would advise that where there is a sufficient number of workers a batch should specialise in order to make one particular item successful. Where the workers are not sufficient,

precedence should be given to the boycott of councils because results must be shown in this item of non-co-operation before the middle of December next.

Welcome to British Delegates.

V. This Committee places on record its deep gratitude to Col: Wedgwood M. P. and Mr. Ben C. Spoor M. P. for their generous services to this country and offers to them its warmest welcome to this land.

Resolved that the General Secretaries be authorised to arrange for their reception and tour in different parts of the country.

Resolved further that the first part of this resolution relating to their welcome be cabled to them immediately.

Thanks to outgoing Secretary.

VI. This Committee extremely regrets that the Hon'ble Pt. Gokaran Nath Misra should have thought it necessary to tender his resignation of the office of Joint General Secretary of the Congress and, while accepting his resignation, places on record its grateful appreciation of the eminent services rendered by him during the last two years.

Accounts of Congress Reception Committees.

VII. That the All-India Congress Committee requests the respective Secretaries of the Reception Committees of all the Sessions of the Congress, Ordinary or Extraordinary, from the year 1916 onwards to submit their accounts duly audited to this Committee before December 15, 1920.

VIII. That the report of the Sub-Committee appointed for the revision of the Constitution of the Congress be circulated for opinion to all the Provincial Congress Committees by the 20th October, 1920.

Revision of constitution.

The following motion was ruled out of order by the Chairman under Article XXVIII of the Constitution:—

That, having regard to the exceptionally large expenses the Reception Committee had to incur in order to make all the necessary arrangements for the last Special Sessions of the Congress within the limited short time available for it, the contribution to the All-India Congress Committee, being a share of the delegation fees, be remitted.

Proceedings of the Meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, held at Nagpur on Friday the 24th December 1920, with Pandit Motilal Nehru in the Chair.

Seventyfive members were present.

I. The minutes of the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held on the 2nd October, 1920 at Bombay are confirmed.

II. The Annual Report of the General Secretaries is adopted and with regard to the accounts it is resolved that the amount of Rs. 3,000 paid by late Lokamanya Tilak to Mr. V. J. Patel, General Secretary, be shown in the accounts.

III. Resolved that the question of Lokamanya Tilak Memorial be referred to the Subjects Committee.

IV. Resolved that the Report of the Congress Constitution Sub-Committee be referred to the Subjects Committee.

V. Resolved that the question of the utility of the British Congress Committee and newspaper *India* be referred to the Subjects Committee.

VI. The question of the inhuman treatment of Indians in the British Colonies is referred to the Subjects Committee.

VII. The applications for affiliation of the East Africa Indian National Congress and the India Home Rule League of America are referred to the Subjects Committee.

VIII. The question of raising a National Fund is referred to the Subjects Committee.

NAGPUR SESSION 1920

The 35th ordinary session of the Indian National Congress was held in Nagpur on 26th, 28th, 30th and 31st December, 1920. Syt. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj was Chairman of the Reception Committee and Syt. C. Vijayaraghavachariar was the president of the session.

NAGPUR SESSION 1920

The following resolutions were passed by the Congress at the 35th ordinary session held at Nagpur.

I.

Object.

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

(Note :—This forms Article I of the Congress Constitution).

II.

The Non-co-operation Resolution.

Whereas in the opinion of the Congress the existing Government of India has forfeited the confidence of the country; and

Whereas the people of India are now determined to establish Swaraj ; and

Whereas all methods adopted by the people of India prior to the last Special Session of the Indian National Congress have failed to secure due recognition of their rights and liberties and the redress of their many and grievous wrongs, more specially in reference to the Khilafat and the Punjab ;

Now this Congress while reaffirming the resolution on Non-violent Non-co-operation passed at the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta declares

that the entire or any part or parts of the scheme of Non-violent Non-co-operation, with the renunciation of voluntary association with the present Government at one end and the refusal to pay taxes at the other, should be put in force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress or the All-India Congress Committee and that in the meanwhile, to prepare the country for it, effective steps should continue to be taken in that behalf:—

Boycotting schools.

(*a*) by calling upon the parents and guardians of school children (and not the children themselves) under the age of 16 years to make greater efforts for the purpose of withdrawing them from such schools as are owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government and concurrently to provide for their training in national schools or by such other means as may be within their power in the absence of such schools;

(*b*) by calling upon students of the age of 16 and over to withdraw without delay, irrespective of consequences, from institutions owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government, if they feel that it is against their conscience to continue in institutions which are dominated by a system of government which the nation has solemnly resolved to bring to an end, and advising such students either to devote themselves to some special service in connection with the non-cooperation movement or to continue their education in national institutions ;

(*c*) by calling upon trustees, managers and teachers of Government, affiliated or aided schools and municipalities and local boards to help to nationalise them ;

Nationalizing educational institutions.

(*d*) by calling upon lawyers to make greater efforts to suspend their practice and to devote their attention to national service including boycott of law courts by litigants and fellow lawyers and the settlement of disputes by private arbitration;

Courts.

(*e*) in order to make India economically independent and self-contained, by calling upon merchants and traders to carry out a gradual boycott of foreign trade relations, to encourage hand-spinning and hand-weaving, and, in that behalf, by having a scheme of economic boycott planned and formulated by a committee of experts to be nominated by the All-India Congress Committee;

Hand spinning and Hand weaving.

(*f*) and inasmuch as self-sacrifice is essential to the success of non-co-operation, by calling upon every section and every man and woman in the country to make the utmost possible contribution of self sacrifice to the national movement;

Call for sacrifice.

(*g*) by organising Committees in each village or group of villages with a provincial central organisation in the principal cities of each province for the purpose of accelerating the progress of non-co-operation;

Organising Congress Committees.

(*h*) by organising a band of national workers for a service to be called the Indian National Service; and

Workers.

(*i*) by taking effective steps to raise a national fund to be called the ALL-INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL SWARAJYA FUND for the purpose of financing the foregoing National Service and the non-co-operation movement in general.

Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund.

This Congress congratulates the nation upon the progress made so far in working the programme of non-co-operation, specially with regard to the boycott of Councils by the voters, and claims, in the circumstances in which they have been brought into existence, that the new Councils do not represent the country, and trusts that those, who have allowed themselves to be elected in spite of the deliberate abstention from the polls of an overwhelming majority of their constituents, will see their way to resign their seats in the Councils, and that if they retain their seats in spite of the declared wish of their respective constituencies in direct negation of the principle of democracy, the electors will studiously refrain from asking for any political service from such councillors.

The Councils.

This Congress recognises the growing friendliness between the Police and the Soldiery and the people, and hopes that the former will refuse to subordinate their creed

The Police.

and country to the fulfilment of orders of their officers. and, by courteous and considerate behaviour towards the people, will remove the reproach hitherto levelled against them that they are devoid of any regard for the feelings and sentiments of their own people.

Govt. Servants.

And this Congress appeals to all people in Government employment, pending the call of the nation for resignation of their service, to help the national cause by importing greater kindness and stricter honesty in their dealings with their people and fearlessly and openly to attend all popular gatherings whilst refraining from taking any active part therein and, more specially, by openly rendering financial assistance to the national movement.

Nonviolence.

This Congress desires to lay special emphasis on Non-violence being the integral part of the non-co-operation resolution and invites the attention of the people to the fact that Non-violence in word and deed is as essential between people themselves, as in respect of the Government, and this Congress is of opinion that the spirit of violence is not only contrary to the growth of a true spirit of democracy, but actually retards the enforcement (if necessary) of the other stages of non-co-operation.

Intercommunal unity.

Finally, in order that the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs may be redressed and Swarajya established within

one year, this Congress urges upon all public bodies, whether affiliated to the Congress or otherwise, to devote their exclusive attention to the promotion of non-violence and non-co-operation with the Government and, inasmuch as the movement of non-co-operation can only succeed by complete co-operation amongst the people themselves, this Congress calls upon public associations to advance Hindu-Muslim unity and the Hindu delegates of this Congress call upon the leading Hindus to settle all disputes between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins, wherever they may be existing, and to make a special effort to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability, and respectfully urges the religious heads to help the growing desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the suppressed classes.

III.

Foreign Propaganda.

(1) That, in the opinion of this Congress, it is necessary in the interests of India to disseminate correct information about India and Indian questions in foreign countries.

(2) This Congress, while authorising the All-India Congress Committee to give effect to the foregoing resolution, resolves:—

(*a*) That the publication of newspaper "India" as an organ of the Congress be discontinued forthwith and the contracts of the present staff be terminated.

(*b*) That, subject to the existing liabilities in connection with the British Congress Committee and newspaper *India* no further financial assistance from the Congress fund be supplied for these purposes; and

(*c*) That a Committee consisting of Mr. Ben Spoor, Mr. Parikh, Mr. Holford Knight, Dr. Vakil, Mr. M. H. Kidwai and Mr. Dube be appointed for winding up the affairs of the British Congress Committee and newspaper *India*.

IV.

The late Mac-Swiney.

This Congress pays its homage to the sacred memory of the great Irish patriot Mac-Swiney, and sends its message of sympathy to the Irish people in their struggle for Independence.

V.

Rise in Exchange rates and Reverse Councils.

Whereas His Majesty's Government and the Government of India, by bringing about an unprecedented rise in Indian Sterling Exchange, and issuing Reverse Councils, in wanton disregard of Indian opinion, as expressed in the Minority Report of the Currency Committee, to the enormous and serious loss to the Indian export trade, have pursued a ruinous policy, conceived in the interests of British manufactures, with the result that Indian trade and

commerce have been entirely unsettled and dislocated, while the British Treasury has been relieved of a substantial part of its indebtedness to India, and the British capitalists and manufacturers have been given enormous opportunities for dumping into this country goods which could not find their old markets in Germany and other countries, this Congress calls upon the British Treasury to make good this loss and further declares that importers, merchants and dealers of British goods will be entirely justified in refusing to complete their contracts at the present rates of exchange.

Further, this Congress appoints a Committee to be named by the All-India Congress Committee to take steps to deal effectively with the situation.

VI.

Boycott of Duke of Connaught's visit.

This Congress is of opinion that, in pursuance of the policy of non-co-operation, the people of India should refrain from taking any part in functions or festivities in honour of H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught during his forthcoming visit to India.

VII.

Sympathy with Trades Unions of India.

This Congress expresses its fullest sympathy with the workers of India in their struggle for securing their legitimate rights through the organisation of Trades Unions, and places on record its condem-

nation of the brutal policy of treating the lives of Indian workers as of no account under the false pretext of preserving law and order.

VIII.

Organizing labour and preventing exploitation

This Congress is of opinion that Indian Labour should be organized with a view to improve and promote their well-being and secure to them their just rights, and also to prevent the exploitation (1) of Indian labour (2) of Indian resources by foreign agencies; and that the All-India Congress Committee should appoint a committee to take effective steps in that behalf.

IX.

Land Acquisition Act.

This Congress invites the attention of the public to the policy pursued by the Government in the different provinces of India, of forcibly acquiring lands on a large scale in the interest of capitalists, and especially foreign capitalists, by the reckless and unjustifiable use of the Land Acquisition Act, and thus destroying the hearths and homes and the settled occupations of the poor classes and landholders, and is of opinion that it affords further grounds for non-co-operation against the Government.

This Congress further appeals to the Indian capitalists concerned and calls upon them to avert the impending ruin of the poor peasants.

X.

Sympathy with sufferers.

This Congress places on record its sincere sympathy with those political workers who have been arrested and imprisoned with or without regular specification of charge and open trial, and who are still detained in prison, or whose freedom of movement and association are still restricted by executive order, and this Congress expresses the hope that their devotion to their country and the hope of the early attainment of Swaraj, which will render these acts of injustice impossible, will sustain them in their present trial.

XI.

Ayurvedic and Unani medical systems.

This Congress is of opinion that, having regard to the wide prevalence and generally accepted utility of the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine in India, earnest and definite efforts should be made by the people of this country to further popularise these systems by establishing schools, colleges and hospitals for instruction and treatment in accordance with the indigenous systems.

XII.

Responsible Govt. in Indian States.

This Congress earnestly requests all the Sovereign Princes of India to take immediate steps to establish full responsible Government in their states.

XIII.

Govt. Repression.

This Congress notes the resumption, in spite of declarations of the Government of India to the contrary, of repression in the Punjab, Delhi and elsewhere, and invites those concerned to bear their sufferings with fortitude and, whilst respecting all lawful orders, to prosecute Non-violent Non-co-operation with redoubled vigour.

XIV.

Free Education

As free elementary education is the primary and urgent need of the masses of India, this Congress urges on all Congress organizations to introduce and enforce the same in their respective areas on national lines.

XV.

Mr. B. G. Horniman.

This Congress puts on record its feelings of gratefulness to Mr. B. G. Horniman whose arduous labours and courageous championship of the cause of India have made the Indian case widely known to the people outside India, and condemns the policy of Government which still keeps him removed from the Indian people.

XVI.

Thanks to Muslim associations.

I. This Congress tenders its thanks to the Muslim associations for their resolutions against cow-slaughter.

2. This Congress recognises the great economic necessity for the protection of cattle and urges upon the people of India to do their best to achieve this object, particularly by refusing to sell cattle or hides for export trade.

Protection of cattle.

XVII.

This Congress having considered the composition and procedure of the Esher Committee and its report which, if carried out, is calculated to increase the subservience and impotence of India, is of opinion that the report furnishes strong additional ground for Non-co-operation, and for showing how dangerous it is to postpone the immediate establishment of Swaraj.

The Esher Committee.

XVIII.

CONSTITUTION.

Article I.—

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

Object.

[Note:—This was passed as Resolution No. I.]

SESSIONS OF THE CONGRESS.

Article II.—

(*a*) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during Christmas holidays at such place as may have been decided upon at its previous session, or such other place as may have

Sessions of the Congress.

been determined by the All-India Congress Committee hereinafter referred to.

(*b*) An extraordinary session of the Congress may be summoned by the All-India Congress Committee either on its own motion or on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees, wherever it may deem it advisable to hold such a session; and the articles of this Constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All-India Congress Committee may consider necessary in respect of each such session.

Article III.—

Component Parts of the Congress

The Indian National Congress organisation shall consist of the following:—

(*a*) The Indian National Congress.

(*b*) Provincial Congress Committees.

(*c*) District Congress Committees.

(*d*) Sub-Divisional, Taluqa or Tahsil, Firka or other local Congress Committees.

(*e*) The All-India Congress Committee.

(*f*) Such other committees outside India as may from time to time be recognised by the Congress in this behalf.

(*g*) Bodies formed or organised periodically by the Provincial, District, Taluqa or Tahsil, or other Local Congress such as the Reception Committee of the Congress and the

Provincial, District, Taluqa or Tahsil, or other local Conferences.

Article IV.—

Membership.

No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the organisations referred to in the foregoing article, unless he or she has ottained the age of 21 and expresses in writing his or her acceptance of the object and the methods as laid down in Article I of this constitution and of the rules of the Congress.

Article V.—

Provincial Congress Committees.

The following shall be the provinces with head-quarters mentioned against them, and where no head-quarters are mentioned, and in every case, the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall have the power to fix or alter them from time to time.

	Province		Head-quarters.
(1)	Madras	(Tamil)	Madras.
(2)	Andhra	(Telugu)	
(3)	Karnatic	(Cannada)	Gadag.
(4)	Kerala	(Malayalam)	Calicut.
(5)	City of Bombay	(Marathi and Gujarati)	Bombay.
(6)	Maharashtra	(Marathi)	Poona.
(7)	Gujarat	(Gujarati)	Ahmedabad.
(8)	Sindh	(Sindhi)	
(9)	United Provinces	(Hindustani)	Allahabad.
(10)	Punjab	(Punjabi)	Lahore.
(11)	N. W. Frontier Province	(Hindustani).	Peshawar.

(12)	Delhi	(Hindustani)	Delhi.
(13)	Ajmer, Marwara and Rajputana	(Hindustani)	Ajmer
(14)	Central Provinces	(Hindustani)	Jubbulpore.
(15)	Central Provinces	(Marathi)	Nagpur.
(16)	Berar	(Marathi)	Amraoti.
(17)	Bihar	(Hindustani)	Patna.
(18)	Utkal (Orissa)	(Oriya)	
(19)	Bengal and Surma Valley	(Bengali)	Calcutta.
(20)	Assam	(Assamese)	Gauhati.
(21)	Burma	(Burmese)	Rangoon.

Indian States.

Provided that the All-India Congress Committee may from time to time assign particular Indian States to particular provinces, and a Provincial Congress Committee may in its turn allot particular Indian States, assigned to it by the All-India Congress Committee, to particular districts within its jurisdiction.

The existing Provincial Congress Committees shall forthwith proceed to reorganise themselves in terms of this constitution and such reorganisation shall be final unless and until it is revised by the All-India Congress Committee.

Article VI.—

Provincial organizations.

(*a*) There shall be a Provincial Congress Committee in and for each of the provinces named in the foregoing article.

(*b*) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall organise District and other Committees referred to in article III, and shall have the power to frame rules laying down conditions of membership and for the conduct of business not inconsistent with this constitution or any rules made by the All-India Congress Committee.

(*c*) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall consist of representatives elected annually by the members of the District and other Committees in accordance with the rules made by the Provincial Congress Committees.

Article VII.—

Franchise.

Every person not disqualified under article IV, and paying a subscription of 4 annas per year, shall be entitled to become a member of any organisation controlled by the Provincial Congress Committees.

Article VIII.—

Electorate and Delegates.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall be responsible for the election of delegates to the Congress.

No one shall be qualified for election who is not of the age of 21 years, and who does not subscribe to the Congress creed.

The number of delegates shall be not more than one for every 50 thousand or its fraction of the inhabitants of the province of its jurisdiction, includ-

ing the Indian States therein, in accordance with the last census: provided, however, that the inclusion of Indian States in the electorate shall not be taken to include any interference by the Congress with the internal affairs of such States.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall frame rules for the election of delegates, due regard being had to the return of women delegates and representation of minorities, special interests or classes needing special protection.

The rules shall provide for the organization of electorates and shall prescribe the procedure to be adopted for securing the proportional representation (by a single transferable vote) of every variety of political opinion.

The rules framed by each Provincial Congress Committee shall be sent to the General Secretaries of the Congress not later than the 30th April 1921, which rules shall be published for general information by the Secretaries as soon as possible after the receipt thereof.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the Reception Committee of the ensuing session of the Congress an alphabetical list of the delegates so elected containing the full name, occupation, age, sex, religion and address of each of them to reach the Committee not later than the 15th day of December every year, and in the case of an Extraordinary Session, not later than ten days before the date advertised for the holding of such Session.

Article IX.—

(*a*) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall pay annually such subscription to the All-India Congress Committee as may be fixed by the latter from time to time.

Provincial Subscriptions.

(*b*) No member of a Congress Committee shall vote at the election of representatives or delegates, or be elected as such, unless and until he has paid the subscription due by him.

Subscription in arrears.

Article X.—

Each Committee referred to in Article VIII shall issue certificates to the delegates duly elected in accordance with the form hereto attached marked Appendix A and signed by a Secretary of the Committee.

Delegation.

Article XI.—

Every delegate on presenting such a certificate and paying a fee of Rs. 10 at the Congress office shall receive a ticket entitling him to admission to the Congress.

Delegate's Fee.

Article XII.

Delegates shall alone have the power of voting at the Congress sittings or otherwise taking part in its deliberations.

Voting at Congress.

Article XIII.—

The Reception Committee shall be formed by the Provincial Congress Committee at least six months before the meeting of the annual session and may include persons who are not members of the Provincial Congress Com-

Reception Committee.

mittee. The members of the Reception Committee shall pay not less than Rs. 25 each.

Article XIV.—

The Reception Committee shall elect its Chairman and other office-bearers from amongst its own members.

Article XV.—

It shall be the duty of the Reception Committee to collect funds for the expenses of the Congress session, to elect the President of the Congress in the manner set forth in the following article, and to make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates and guests and, as far as practicable, of visitors, and for the printing and publication of the report of the proceedings, and to submit statements of receipts and expenditure to the Provincial Congress Committee within 4 months of the session of the Congress.

Article XVI.—

Election of the President.

The several Provincial Congress Committee's shall, as far as possible by the end of June, suggest to the Reception Committee the names of persons who are in their opinion eligible for the Presidentship of the Congress, and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, in the first week of July, submit to all the Provincial Committees the names as suggested for their final recommendations, provided that such final recommendation will be of any one but not more of such names and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, meet in the month of August to consider

such recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees is adopted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting, called for the purpose, that person shall be the President of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to accept the President recommended by the Provincial Congress Committees or in case of emergency by resignation, death or otherwise of the President elected in this manner, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress Committee whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September. In either case the election shall be final, provided that in no case shall the person so elected as President belong to the province in which the Congress is to be held.

The President of a special or extraordinary session shall be elected by the All-India Congress Committee subject to the same proviso.

Article XVII.

Congress Funds.

(*a*) The Reception Committee shall, through the Provincial Congress Committee of the province, remit to the All-India Congress Committee, not later than two weeks after the termination of the Congress Session, ordinary or extraordinary, half the delegation fees.

(b) If the Reception Committee has a balance after defraying all the expenses of the session, it shall hand over the same to the Provincial Congress Committee in the

province in which the session was held towards the Provincial Congress fund of that province.

Article XVIII.—

Audit.

The receipts and expenditure of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, and the statement of accounts together with the auditor's report shall be sent by the Provincial Congress Committee not later than six months from the termination of the Congress to the All-India Congress Committee.

Article XIX.—

All India Congress Committee.

The All-India Congress Committee shall consist of 350 members exclusive of ex-officio members.

The ex-officio members shall be past Presidents of the Congress and General Secretaries and Treasurers of the Congress.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall elect the allotted number of members of the All-India Congress Committee from among the members of the Congress Committees within its jurisdiction.

The allotment shall be on the basis of population according to the linguistic re-distribution of provinces, or in such other manner as may appear more equitable to the All-India Congress Committee, and shall be published by the All-India Congress Committee before the 31st day of January 1921.

The method of election shall be the same as already prescribed for the election of delegates.

Election to the All-India Congress Committee shall ordinarily take place in the month of November.

The first All-India Congress Committee under this Constitution shall be elected on or before the 30th of June 1921. Till then, the members of the All-India Congress Committee recently elected shall continue in office.

The All-India Congress Committee shall meet as often as may be necessary for the discharge of its obligations and every time upon requisition by 15 members thereof who shall state in their requisition the definite purpose for which they desire a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.

The All-India Congress Committee shall hold office till the election of the new All-India Congress Committee.

Article XX.—

The Secretaries of the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall issue certificates of membership of the All-India Committee to the persons so elected.

Article XXI.—

Function of A. I. C. C.

The All-India Congress Committee shall be the Committee of the Congress to carry out the programme of work laid down by the Congress from year to year, and deal with all new matters that may arise during the year

and may not be provided for by the Congress itself. For this purpose, the All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame its own rules not inconsistent with this Constitution.

Article XXII.—

The President of the Congress shall be the Chairman of the All-India Congress Committee for the year following.

Article XXIII.—

General Secretaries.

The Indian National Congress shall have three General Secretaries, who shall be annually elected by the Congress. They shall prepare the report of the work of the All-India Congress Committee during the year and submit it, with a full account of the funds which may come into their hands, to the All-India Congress Committee at a meeting to be held at the place and about the time of the session of the Congress for the year; and copies of such account and report shall then be presented to the Congress and sent to the Congress Committees.

Article XXIV.—

Working Committee.

The All-India Congress Committee shall at its first meeting appoint a Working Committee consisting of the President, the General Secretaries, the Treasurers and 9 other members, which shall perform such functions as may be delegated to it from time to time by the All-India Congress Committee.

Article XXV.—

Subjects Committee.

The members of the All-India Congress Committee shall constitute the Subjects Committee for the ordinary or extraordinary session following.

Article XXVI.

The Subjects Committee shall meet at least two days before the meeting of the Congress in open session. At this meeting, the President-elect shall preside and the outgoing Secretaries shall submit the draft programme of the work for the ensuing sessions of the Congress, including resolutions recommended by the different Provincial Congress Committees for adoption.

Article XXVII.

The Subjects Committee shall proceed to discuss the said programme and shall frame resolutions to be submitted to the open session.

Article XXVIII.

The Subjects Committee shall also meet from time to time as the occasion may require during the pendency of the Congress Session.

Article XXIX.—

Contentious Subjects and Interests of Minorities.

No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mahomedan delegates, as a body, object by a majority of ¾ths of their number, and if, after the discussion of any subject which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mahomedan delegates, as a

body, are, by a majority of ¾ths of their number, opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such resolution shall be dropped.

Article XXX.—

The All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame rules in respect of all matters not covered by the Constitution and not inconsistent with its Articles.

Article XXXI.—

The Articles and the Creed of the Constitution now in force are hereby repealed without prejudice to all acts done thereunder.

XIX.

The Sikhs.

In view of the fact that misunderstandings exist among the Sikhs as to the position of their community in the future polity of India, this Congress assures the Sikhs that their interests will receive the same protection in any scheme of Swaraj for India as is provided for Mahomedan and other minorities in provinces other than the Punjab.

XX.

Export of Food-stuffs.

This Congress condemns the Government for its callous disregard of the immediate needs of the Indian people in reference to its policy as regards the exportation of food-stuffs in spite of famine conditions prevailing, and in order to mitigate the disastrous consequences thereof this Congress advises the traders not to

export food-stuffs (particularly wheat and rice), and further advises producers and the public not to sell such food-stuffs to exporting traders and agencies or help in any way the export of these stuffs.

XXI.

Indians in Africa and Fiji.

This Congress extends its hearty support to the Indians in East Africa and South Africa in their heroic and noble struggle against the treatment meted out to them, a treatment that threatens to bring about their social, economic and polical ruin, by the Governments of East Africa and South Africa.

This Congress approves of the policy of peaceful non-co-operation initiated by the Indians of East Africa, with a view to securing complete equality of treatment alike in law and in practice.

This Congress is painfully aware of the fact that in the present enslaved condition of the people of this country it cannot give protection to their countrymen in Fiji, who have been so inhumanly treated by their Government and planters as to result in the enforced return of the poor men and women who had made Fiji their home.

This Congress considers that the helplessness of the nation in the matter of the treatment of Indians in the British Dominions overseas is a clear demonstration of the necessity of non-co-operation for the establishment of Swarajya.

This Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the valuable and selfless services rendered and being rendered by Mr. C. F. Andrews to the cause of indentured Indians in Fiji and elsewhere and the Indian settlers in East and South Africa.

XXII.

General Secretaries for 1921.

This Congress appoints Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Ansari and Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar General Secretaries of the Congress for the year 1921, and resolves that the Head-Quarters of the All-India Congress Committee be located at Allahabad.

XXIII.

Thanks to Outgoing Secretaries.

This Congress places on record its greatful thanks for the valuable services rendered by its General Secretary Mr. V. J. Patel in India and England as also by Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra and Dr. Ansari, General Secretaries of the Congress for the year 1920.

XXIV.

The next Congress.

Resolved that the next Congress do meet at Ahmedabad.

APPENDIX A.

(*vide* Art. X OF THE CONSTITUTION).

I hereby certify that

Full name.....

Occupation.....

Age.....

Sex.....

Religion.....

Address.....

is a member of the.....

Congress Committee and.....

has been duly elected by.....

Congress Committee.....

as a delegate to the Indian National Congress to be held at .....in the month of.....,.....

Secretary,

.....*Congress Committee.*

APPENDIX B.

THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

(Number of members allotted by the All-India Congress Committee in accordance with Art. XIX).

Province.	No. of Members.
Madras	25
Andhra	20
Karnatak	16
Kerala	8
City of Bombay	7
Maharashtra	16
Gujarat	12

Sindh	9
United Provinces	52
Punjab	33
N. W. Frontier Province	2
Delhi	5
Ajmer	7
C. P. (Hindustani)	10
C. P. (Marathi)	10
Berar	6
Bihar	36
Utkal	7
Bengal and Surma Valley	52
Assam	5
Burma	12
	350

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE 1921

Resolutions passed at the Meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Nagpur on the 1st January, 1921, with Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar in the chair.

Seventy two members were present.

American and East African India Home Rule Leagues.

I. The India Home Rule League of America and the East Africa Indian National Congress are requested to communicate their acceptance of the creed and compliance with the other provisions of the constitution.

Application for money.

II. The application of Miss Howsin and Mr. Houghton for £1,000 was considered. Resolved that no grant be made.

Running Expenses of A. I. C. C.

III. Rs. 6,000 may be allotted temporarily for the running expenses of the office of the All-India Congress Committee, and a budget be called-for, to be considered and sanctioned at the next meeting of the Committee, the allotment to be settled by the Working Committee, and placed before the All-India Congress Committee.

Grant to American I. H. R. League.

IV. A sum of 3,000 dollars is sanctioned as a contribution to the India Home Rule League of America to be spent un-

der the directions of a Sub-Committee consisting of Messrs. Kelkar and Lajpat Rai.

A statement of the accounts of the India Home Rule League of America for 1920 will be printed and circulated to enable the Committee to see the nature of the work done by that League.

Foreign Propaganda.

V. In order to give effect to the Congress resolution for the dissemination of news in foreign countries, this Committee authorises the expenditure of a sum not exceeding £3,000 for such purpose in the United Kingdom, during the current year, in accordance with the instructions to be from time to time issued by the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee.

Working Committee.

VI. The following are elected members of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee:—

1 Mahatma Gandhi
2 Mr. N. C. Kelkar.
3 Mr. C. R. Das.
4 Lala Lajpat Rai.
5 Hakim Ajmal Khan.
6 Maulana Mohamad Ali.
7 Mr. K. Venkatappayya.
8 Dr. B. S. Moonje
9 Mr. Shankerlal Banker

with power to co-opt.

Treasurers.

VII. Messrs. Chotani and Jamnalal Bajaj are appointed Treasurers of the All-India Congress Committee.

Contracts Boycott Committee.

VIII. The following shall form the Committee to carry out the resolution of the Congress about the boycott of contracts:—

1 Mr B. Chakarvarti.
2 Mr. B. Bannerji (Bengal National Bank.)
3 Mr. Girdharilal (Punjab).
4 Mr. A. C. Khosla
5 Mr. Hansraj Pragji.
6 Mr. Narandas Purshottamdas.
7 Mr. Chotani.
8 Mr. Yakub Hasan.
9 Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj.
10 Mr. S. R. Bomanji
11 Mr. Manu Subedar.
12 Sardar Premsingh Sodhbans.

Labour Committee.

IX. The following, with powers to co opt, shall form the Committee to carry out the labour organisation work according to the Congress resolution :—

1 Mr. C. R. Das.
2 Mr. Joseph Baptista.
3 Mr. G. B. Deshpande.
4 Lala Lajpat Rai.
5 Srimati Anasuya Sarabai
6 Mr E. L. Aiyar.
7 Dr. Murarilal
8 Maulana Shaukat Ali
9 Mr. Deep Narain Singh
10 Pt. Rambhuj Dutt Choudhry.
11 Mr L. G. Khare.

Other items.

X All the remaining items of business arising out of the resolutions of the Congress be referred to the Working Committee for disposal.

Arrears.

XI. The question of the arrears due from the various Provincial Congress Committees in respect of the expenses of the deputation sent to England being remitted, is referred for disposal to the Working Committee.

Mr. Bomanji's donation.

XII. Mr. S. R. Bomanji's offer of a donation of Rs. 10,000 a month to the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund until Swarajya is obtained, is accepted with thanks.

Resolutions passed by the All-India Congress Committee which met at Bezwada on the 31st March 1921 and 1st April 1921.

Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar was in the Chair. Fortyeight members were present.

Concentrating on Three Main Items.

I. In the opinion of the All-India Congress Committee, all Congress organizations and workers should concentrate their attention chiefly upon (1) bringing the All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund to one crore of rupees, and before the 30th June next, each Congress province to collect in the ratio of its population; (2) putting on the Congress register one crore of members, and before the 30th June next, each province to contribute the number of members in the ratio of its population; and (3) introducing timely into the villages and houses, 20 lakhs of *Charkhas* (spinning wheels) in good working order, and before the 30th June next, each province to introduce the number of *Charkhas* in the ratio of its population.

Progress in Boycotting Law Courts.

II. The All-India Congress Committee congratulates the country on the rapid progress made in the organization of Panchayats and trusts that the people will make still greater efforts to boycott the Government law courts.

Anti-drink and Anti-drug compaign.

III. This Congress Committee congratulates the country on its spontaneous response to the principle of self-purification

underlying the movement of non-violent non-co-operation, by taking up the campaign against the drink evil, and trusts that the habit of taking intoxicating drinks and drugs will totally disappear from the land by the persistent and continuous efforts of self-sacrificing workers.

Govt's. Repressive Policy and Civil Disobedience.

IV. Whilst the All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that the orders of officials in the various provinces against non-co-operators, in pursuit of the policy of repression inaugurated by the Government, are totally unwarranted by the situation in the country and are, in most cases, pronounced by highest legal opinion to be illegal, and whilst the All-India Congress Committee believes the country has responded in a wonderful manner, and in the face of grave provocation by the authorities, to the principle of non-violence enjoined by the Congress in the country's pursuit after Swaraj and redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, this Committee is of opinion that, apart from the fact that Civil Disobedience is not expressly comprised in the Congress resolution in relation to non-co-operation, the country is not yet sufficiently disciplined, organized and ripe for the immediate taking up of Civil Disobedience, and this Committee by way of preparation therefor advises all those upon whom orders may be served voluntarily to conform to them, and trusts that new workers will take the place of those who may be disabled by the Government, and that the people at large, instead of being disheartened or frightened by such orders, will con-

tinue their work of quiet organization and construction sketched by the Congress resolution.

Nankana Massacre.

V. The All-India Congress Committee expresses its sense of horror over the Nankana massacre and tenders its respectful condolence to the families of the victims of the tragedy, and assures the Sikhs of its sympathy with them in the heavy losses suffered by them.

Repression in Burma.

VI. This meeting of the All-India Congress Committee congratulates the Burmese Nation in their great struggle for freedom, and sympathizes with them and U. Ottama in their trouble created by repressive measures adopted by the Government.

Congratulation to sufferers.

VII. The All-India Congress Committee congratulates all those who are suffering by way of imprisonment or otherwise in the cause of religion and India's freedom.

Resolutions passed by the All India Congress Committee which met at Bombay on the 28th, 29th and 30th July 1921.

Refraining from Welcome to H.R.H Prince of Wales.

I. In the event of the British Government persisting in bringing to India His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in spite of the growing unrest and discontent, by reason of the failure of Government to respond to the popular will, the All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that it is the duty of everyone, in terms and in virtue of the Non-Co-operation resolution, passed at the special Session of the Congress in September 1920 at Calcutta and reaffirmed at the ordinary session in December 1920 at Nagpur, to refrain from participating in or assisting in any welcome to His Royal Highness or any functions organised officially or otherwise in connection with his visit.

While the All-India Congress Committee considers it its painful duty to tender the above advice to the people, it desires to place on record its opinion that India bears no sort of feeling against the person of His Royal Highness, and that this advice is tendered because the committee regards the proposed visit as a political move, and calculated to give strength and support to a system of government that has resulted in a breach of faith with the Mussal-

mans of India and atrocious injustice to the people of India as during the Martial Law days in 1919 in the Punjab, and a system that is designed to keep India as long as possible from her birthright of Swaraj.

Bezwada resolution fulfilled.

II. (a) The All-India Congress Committee desires to tender its congratulations to the nation upon the fulfilment of the resolution arrived at Bezwada to collect one crore of rupees for the All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund, and in this connection specially tenders its warm congratulations to the generous citizens of Bombay without whose response the resolution seemed to be impossible of fulfilment.

Concentrating on foreign cloth boycott.

(b) In order to be able to attain Swaraj and to secure the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs during the current year, the All-India Congress Committee desires that all Congress organisations and those who sympathise with the national aspirations, should concentrate their attention upon attaining complete boycott of foreign cloth by the 30th of September next and on manufacture of Khaddar by stimulating handspinning and hand-weaving, and to this end the All-India Congress Committee advises that all persons belonging to the Congress shall discard the use of foreign cloth as from the 1st day of August next and advises all Congress organisations :—

(1) to use all national educational institutions as far as possible for hand spinning and hand-weaving,

(2) to introduce spinning-wheels into the homes which do not yet possess them,

(3) in every district to take a census of weavers and to induce them by offering facilities to discard the use of foreign yarn and to use, as far as possible, hand-spun yarn, and otherwise to use Indian mill-spun yarn,

(4) to induce by special encouragement weavers who have given up their calling to return to it,

(5) to take a census of cotton carders and to induce them to prepare cards for spinning,

(6) to open depots for the supply of khaddar, spinning wheels, hand-looms and all accessories required for spinning and weaving,

(7) to collect foreign cloth from consumers for destruction or use outside India, at their option,

(c) The All-India Congress Committee invites the mill agents and shareholders of the great spinning and weaving companies in Bombay, Ahmedabad and elsewhere to support the national effort by regulating the price of their manufactures, so as to bear proportion to the wages of mill hands and other expenditure, and so as to be within the reach of the poorest, and trusts that in no case will they raise the price beyond the prevailing rates.

(d) The All-India Congress Committee invites the importers of foreign cloth and yarn to co-operate with the nation by immediately stopping all foreign

orders, and by endeavouring to dispose of their stock as far as possible outside India.

Anti-liquor campaign and Govt. Repression.

III. The All-India Congress Committee notes with deep satisfaction the growth of public opinion and the campaign against the use and sale of intoxicating liquors or drugs, by means of peacefully picketing shops licensed for the purpose of selling such liquors or drugs, and notes with concern the undue and improper interference commenced by the Government in various parts of the country with the recognised right of the public to wean weak members from temptations to visit such shops, and desires it to be understood that, in the event of such interference with the peaceful exercise of the said right being persisted in, the Committee will be prepared to recommend the continuence of picketing in disregard of such interference, and advises the Working Committee to investigate cases of interference and authorise disregard thereof whenever and wherever it may be considered desirable and in the interests of the movement

The lead of Thana District Board.

The all-India Congress Committee congratulates the Thana District Board for its resolution on picketing and the determination to continue it and calls upon other Local Boards and Municipalities in India immediately to follow the splendid lead of that Board.

Appeal to drug and liquor dealers

The All-India Congress Committee appeals to the keepers of shops for the sale of intoxicating liquors or drugs ,to

recognise the growing force of acute public opinion against the continuance of such trade, and to respond to the wish of the nation by immediately discontinuing it.

Malgaon and Aligarh excesses.

IV. The All-India Congress Committee deplores the excesses committed by crowds at Malegaon, and recently by some people in parts of the city of Aligarh even though under grave provocation, and advises Congress organisations to inculcate among the people the importance of observing the spirit of complete non-violence as an indispensable part of non-co-operation, and whilst condemning these isolated instances of popular violence, the Committee desires to congratulate the people of India upon their having exercised complete self-restraint, notwithstanding grave provocation given by the local authorities as in Dharwar, Matiari Guntar, Chirala Perala, Kerala, North West Frontier Province, Keojhar and elsewhere.

Sympathy with the dead and suffering.

The All-India Congress Committee tenders its sympathy and congratulations to the families of those who have lost their lives by the unprovoked fire opened upon them by the local authorities at several places, and congratulates all those brave and innocent citizens who have been wounded or are suffering imprisonment, and records its deep appreciation of the fact that in the majority of cases the patriots went to jail without offering any defence whatsoever.

The All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that the way to freedom lies only through voluntary suffering and therefore through imprisonment of innocent men and women without defence or bail.

Accepting Govt. Challenge.

The All-India Congress Committee regards repression going on in several parts of the country, and the serious and widespread repression going on in the United Provinces as a sign of the near approach of freedom, and therefore hopes that the people in the provinces concerned, will not be frightened or demoralized, and that willing workers will come forward to take the place of those who without any moral breach on their part might lose their lives or might be imprisoned.

Civil Disobedience postponed till complete boycott of foreign cloth.

The All-India Congress Committee has taken note of the reasonable desire of workers in the United Provinces and other parts to take up civil disobedience in answer to the repressive measures of Local Governments, and has also taken note of the fact that the administration in the North-West Frontier Province has even prohibited the entry into that province of the members of the Frontier Inquiry Committee, appointed by the Central Khilafat Committee, to enquire into the outrages alleged to have been committed by the local officials in Banoo ; but with a view to ensure greater stability of non-violent atmosphere throughout India, and in order to test the measure of influence attained by the Congress over the people, and further in order to retain on the part of the nation an atmosphere free from ferment

necessary for the proper and swift prosecution of *Swadeshi*, the All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that civil disobedience should be postponed till after the completion of the programme referred to in the resolution on *Swadeshi*, after which the committee will not hesitate, if necessary, to recommend a course of civil disobedience even though it might have to be adopted by a special session of the Congress ; provided however that it is open to any province or place to adopt civil disobedience subject to the previous approval of the Working Committee obtained within the constitution through the provincial Congress Committee concerned.

Working Committee's Powers.

V. The All-India Congress Committee hereby authorises the Working Committee to take all such action as may be necessary to give effect to the resolutions of the Congress and of the All-India Congress Committee, and to deal with all matters with which the All-India Congress Committee is empowered to deal, and which may arise whilst this Committee is not sitting and which may require urgent attention.

All places to fulfil their quota according to Bezwada resolution.

VI. The All-India Congress Committee calls upon the people of the provinces and districts which have not yet carried out their full quota of all the items in the Bezwada programme, to complete the same as early as possible, irrespective of the nation having completed the programme as a whole.

Congress Foreign Policy.

VII. That the following resolution passed at a public meeting of the citizens of Bombay held on the 26th April 1921 under the auspices of the Central Khilafat Committee of India be recorded :—

" In view of the fact that the destiny of the people of India is inevitably linked with that of the neighbouring Asiatic Nations and Powers, this public meeting of the Mussulmans of Bombay request the All-India Congress Committee to promote feelings of amity and concord with neighbouring States, and with a view to establish mutual good-will and sympathy, to formulate a clear and definite foreign policy for India."

Resolved further that the grateful acknowledgements of the All-India Congress Committee be communicated to Mr. Pickthall, the chairman of the said meeting, and to the Central Khilafat Committee of India for inviting the attention of the All India Congress Committee to a matter of such importance, and that the Working Committee be asked to frame a statement of such policy for presenting the same at the next meeting of the All-India Congress Committee for its consideration.

Appointment of Joint Treasurer.

VIII. This Committee appoints Mr. Umar Sobani of Bombay to act as Joint Treasurer in the absence of Seth Chotani.

Working Committee.

IX. The following members do constitute the Working Committee :—

Ex-officio.	*Elected.*
(1) Sj. C. Vijiaraghachariar, Chairman.	(7) Mahatma Gandhi.
(2) Pt. Motilal Nehru, General Secretary.	(8) Lala Lajpat Rai.
(3) Dr. M. A. Ansari, General Secretary.	(9) Sj. C. R. Das.
(4) Sj C. Rajagopalachariar, General Secretary.	(10) M. Mahomed Ali.
(5) Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Treasurer.	(11) Sj. N. C. Kelkar.
(6) Mr. Umar Sobhani, Treasurer.	(12) H. Ajmal Khan.
	(13) Sj. K. Venkatappayya.
	(14) Babu Rajendra Pd.
	(15) Sj. Vithalbhai J. Patel.

Filling Vacancies in Working Committee.

X. In the event of a vacancy occurring in the Working Committee the Secretaries shall take steps with all possible despatch to fill in the vacancy by asking for nomination and votes by correspondence, provided that the work of the Committee shall not in any way be stopped or be affected by reason of such vacancy.

Accounts of Punjab Sub-Committee.

XI. That the Working Committee be authorised to deal with the accounts and funds of the Punjab Sub-Committee appointed on the 8th June 1919, and take such other steps as may be necessary to wind up the affairs of that sub-committee.

Resolutions Passed by the All India Congress Committee at its Meeting held at Delhi on the 4th and 5th November 1921.

Election Complaints.

I. The All India Congress Committee endorses the resolution of the Working Committee, convening this meeting of the All India Congress Committee, and also endorses the resolutions of the Working Committee, regarding the complaints about the last elections to the All India Congress Committee, in Bengal and Madras respectively, arrived at at its meeting held in Bombay on the 2nd August (Resolution No. XVII) and in Calcutta on the 7th September (Resolution No. VIII).

Authorizing Provinces to start Civil Disobedience.

II. Whereas there is not much over one month for the fulfilment of the national determination to establish Swaraj before the end of the year, and whereas the nation has demonstrated its capacity for exemplary self-restraint by observing perfect non-violence over the arrest and imprisonment of the Ali Brothers and the other leaders, and whereas it is desirable for the nation to demonstrate its capacity for further suffering and discipline sufficient for the attainment of Swaraj;

The All India Congress Committee authorises every province, on its own responsibility, to undertake Civil Disobedience including non-payment of taxes, in the manner that may be considered the most

suitable by the respective Provincial Congress Committees subject to the following conditions:—

Conditions.

(I) In the event of individual Civil Disobedience the individual must know hand-spinning and must have completely fulfilled that part of the programme which is applicable to him or her, *e. g.*, he or she must have entirely discarded the use of foreign cloth and adopted only hand-spun and hand-woven garments, must be a believer in Hindu-Muslim unity and in unity amongst all the communities professing different religions in India as an article of faith, must believe in Non-Violence as absolutely essential for the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and the attainment of Swaraj, and if a Hindu, must by his personal conduct show that he regards untouchability as a blot upon Nationalism;

(II) In the event of mass Civil Disobedience a District or Tehsil should be treated as a unit, and therein a vast majority of the population must have adopted full *Swadeshi* and must be clothed out of cloth handspun and hand-woven in that District or Tehsil, and must believe in and practice all the other items of Non-co-operation;

Provided that no civil resister should expect to be supported out of public funds, and members of the families of civil resisters undergoing sentence will be expected to support themselves by carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving or any other means;

Provided further that upon application by any Provincial Congress Committee it is open to the Working Committee to relax the conditions of Civil Disobedience, if it is satisfied that any condition should be waived.

Progress in Swadeshi.

III. The All India Congress Committee while regarding the progress so far made in *Swadeshi* as encouraging, is of opinion that enough progress has not been made all round, and calls upon workers throughout India to devote their exclusive attention to the completion of boycott of foreign yarn and cloth, and manufacture of handspun yarn and handwoven cloth, so as to enable the country to offer universal Civil Disobedience if necessary.

Propaganda amongst Govt. Servants.

IV. The All India Congress Committee endorses the resolution passed by the Working Committee regarding the duty of all Government employees, whether civilians or soldiers, and is of opinion that it is the inherent right of a citizen to pronounce his opinion upon the advisability or otherwise of Government servants leaving civil or military service, and that it is the inherent right of every citizen to appeal in an open manner to the soldier or the civilian to sever his connection with a Government which has forfeited the confidence and support of the vast majority of the population of India.

Congratulations to sufferers.

V. The All India Congress Committee congratulates the non-co-operators who have been arrested or imprisoned in

the country and is of opinion that their sufferings will hasten the attainment of the country's purpose.

Announcing Congress Foreign Policy.

VI. The All India Congress Committee approves and adopts the resolution on Foreign Policy proposed by the Working Committee, that the Congress should let it be known to the neighbouring and other non-Indian States:—

(1) that the present Government of India in no way represent Indian opinion and that their policy has been traditionally guided by considerations more of holding India in subjection than of protecting her borders;

(2) that India as a self-governing country can have nothing to fear from the neighbouring states or any state as her people have no designs upon any of them, and hence no intention of establishing any trade relations hostile to or not desired by the people of such states;

(3) and that the people of India regard most treaties entered into with the Imperial Government by neighbouring states as mainly designed by the latter to perpetuate the exploitation of India by the Imperial power, and would therefore urge the states having no ill-will against the people of India, and having no desire to injure her interests, to refrain from entering into any treaty with the Imperial power.

The Committee wishes also to assure the foreign states that when India has attained self-government, her foreign policy will naturally be always guided so

as to respect their religious obligations.

Commission of Enquiry into Malabar rebellion.

VII. The Working Committee is instructed to appoint as soon as time has arrived a Commission to proceed to Malabar and to fix the terms of reference including the investigation of the causes of the Moplah riots, the extent of alleged outrages committed by the rioters with particular reference to forcible conversions of Hindus and the desecration of their temples, the means of prevention and the measures taken by the Government to suppress the riots.

Election to W. C.

VIII. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was elected a member of the Working Committee in the absence of Maulana Mohammed Ali.

Minutes confirmed.

IX. The minutes of the last meeting of the All India Congress Committee held in Bombay on the 28th, 29th and 30th July 1921 were confirmed.

The General Secretary then read out the amounts realised upto date by the various provinces towards the Tilak Swaraj Fund, as reported to him.

Province.	*Amount Collected.*	*Province.*	*Amount Collected.*
Madras ..	1,79,000	United Provinces ..	41,10,304
Andhra ..	3,50,000	Delhi ..	1,05,000
Karnatic ..	1.59,205	Ajmere & Rajputana	40,660
Kerala ..	21,038	C. P. (Hindustani,	89,499
Bombay ..	37,50,000	C. P. (Marathi) ..	1,79,000
Maharashtra ..	4,41,475	Berar ..	44,435
Gujrat ..	15,00,000	Behar ..	7,10,628
Sindh ..	1.95,542	Utkal ..	23,652

Province.	Amount Collected.	Province.	Amount Collected.
Punjab & N. W. F. Province	9,22,707	Bengal ..	6,50,000
Burma ..	1,25,000	Assam ..	40,000
Total			99,37,145

NOTE—Out of the C. P. (Marathi) collections 1,00,000 (donation by Sjt. Jamnalal Bajaj) has been earmarked for helping the lawyers who suspended practice in obedience to the Non-co-operation resolution.

The Working Treasurer then read out the amounts received by him from the various provinces upto the 1st November 1921.

Province.	Amount received. Rs.	A.	P.	Province.	Amount received. Rs.	A.	P.
Assam ..	10,000	0	0	Kerala ..	5,000	0	0
Andhra ..	34,643	12	6	Karnatic ..	30,512	13	3
Behar ..	1,15,500	0	0	Maharashtra ..	73,771	0	6
Bengal ..	17,005	2	0	Punjab ..	1,00,059	0	0
Bombay ..	4,90 413	0	0	Ajmere & Rajputana ..	9,596	14	6
Burma ..	25,402	0	0	Sind ..	30,671	10	9
Delhi ..	10,314	0	0	United Provinces	59,513	13	6
Madras ..	51,300	0	0	Utkal ..	5,625	11	9
Gujrat ..	2,03,101	15	8	Berar ..	6,562	12	0
C. P. (Hindustani) ..	24,057	0	0	North-West-Frontier Province ..	200	0	0
C. P. (Marathi)	16,382	6	9				
General ..	25,129	11	3				
TOTAL.	13,44,753	12	5				

Proceedings of the meeting of the All India Congress Committee held at Ahmedabad on the 24th, 25th, 27th and 28th December 1921.

I. Sjt. Vithalbhai J. Patel proposed Hakim Ajmal Khan to the chair.

Chairman.

Sjt. Konda Venkatappayya seconded and Hakimji took the chair.

II. Dr. M. A. Ansari, the General Secretary read out the proceedings of the meeting of the All India Committee held in Delhi on the 4th and 5th November 1921. The proceedings were confirmed after a slight change suggested by Pt. Rambhaj Dutt Choudhri.

Minutes confirmed.

III. The annual report of the All India Congress Committee prepared by the General Secretary was taken as read.

A. I. C. C.'s Annual Report.

IV. It was then proposed that the Committee should sit as the Subjects Committee for the ensuing Congress. But Sjt. Kelkar moved that before the committee proceeded to work as Subjects Committee it should consider the complaint regarding the election of delegates in the district of Byculla in Bombay, and asked the General Secretary to lay before the Committee the information in his possession on the subject. Dr. Ansari said that he was not aware of any information on the subject as he took charge of the Working Secretaryship only on the previous day.

A. I. C. C. forms itself into subjects Committee.

Sjt. Kelkar next proposed a committee consisting of Sjts. Vithalbhai Patel, Khadilkar and Abbas Tyabji to investigate the matter and report.

Election dispute referred to Working Committee.

Pt. Rambhaj Dutta however proposed that the matter be referred to the Working Committee for final disposal before the Congress session. His proposal was seconded by Pt. Gauri Shankar Bhargava and accepted by the Committee.

The Committee then transformed itself into the Subjects Committee. The Subjects Committee finished its work at 11 a. m. on the 28th December and the All-India Congress Committee met again.

V. The Treasurer read out the statement of the receipts and expenditure of the All India Congress Committee funds.

New Working Committee.

VI. Sjt. Vithalbhai Patel moved that Mahatma Gandhi be requested to nominate the members of the Working Committee and his nominations be taken as elections by the Committee. The proposal was accepted by the Committee. Mahatma Gandhi then in consultation with the Working Committee selected and proposed the following names for the acceptance of the All India Congress Committee:—

Sjt. Hakim Ajmal Khan
,, Mahatma M. K. Gandhi
,, N. C. Kelkar
,, Vithalbhai J. Patel
Syt. Rajendra Prasad
,, Konda Venkatappayya
,, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
,, Gangadhar Rao Deshpande
Lala Lajpat Rai

Babu Shyam Sunder Chakravarty, Maulana Suleman Nadvi, Aga Mohamed Safdar Sahib, Sjt. S. V. Kowjalgi, Dr. Choithram and Principal Gidwani be elected to act as members of the Working Committee in place of Sjt. C.R. Das, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Lala Lajpat Rai, Sjt. Gangadharrao Deshpande, and Pandit Motilal Nahru respectively as the latter are now in the jail.

The names of members proposed to be elected were put to the vote and carried unanimously.

WORKING COMMITTEE 1921.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee at Nagpur on January 1st, 2nd and 3rd 1921.

I. Every Congress province will have assigned to it all contiguous Indian State areas wherein the prevailing language is that of the Congress province. The following will serve as an illustrative list:—

(*a*) The States comprised in the Rajputana and Central India Agency be assigned to the Ajmer Rajputana Province.

(*b*) States in the Punjab including Kashmere to be assigned to the Punjab

(*c*) The Maratha parts of Kolhapur and S. M. States to be allotted to Maharashtra (Poona.)

(*d*) States of Kathiawad and Baroda to Gujarat.

(*e*) Travancore and Cochin to be allotted to Kerala.

(*f*) Pudukottah to Tamil Province.

(*g*) Mysore and Canarese parts of Kolhapur and S. M. States to Karnatak.

(*h*) Marathi portion of Nizam's territories to Maharashtra.

(*i*) Canarese parts to Karnatak.

(*j*) Telugu parts to Andhra.

(*k*) Bharatpur to the United Provinces

(*l*) Sandur to Karnatak.

(*m*) Cutch to Sindh.

(*n*) Baganapalli to Andhra.

(*o*) Dujana, Loharoo, Pataudi and Alwar to Delhi.

(*p*) States in the United Provinces to U. P.

II. The quorum for a meeting of the Working Committee shall be five.

III. The following gentlemen to form the Economic Boycott Committee:—

Mr. Deshpande.
,, Chakravarti.
,, Rangaswami Iyengar.
,, Shankerlal of Delhi.
,, Khatri.
,, Ramji Kaliani.
,, S. R. Bomanji.
Mr. L. R. Tairsee.
,, N. S. Ramaswami Iyenger.
,, N. C. Kelkar.
Lala Lajpatrai.
Mr. Girdharilal.
Mr. Narandas Purshotamdas.
Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

IV. That the question of funds be adjourned to the next meeting.

V. That the members of the All-India Congress Committee be allotted to each province as per following list :—

Province.	*No. of Members.*	*Province.*	*No. of Members.*
Madras	25	Delhi	5
Andhra	20	Ajmer	8
Karnatak	16	C. P. (Hindustani) ..	10
Kerala	7	C. P. (Marathi) ..	10
City of Bombay ..	7	Berar	6
Maharashtra ..	16	Bihar	36
Gujarat	12	Utkal	7
Sindh	9	Bengal and Surma Valley	52
United Provinces ..	52	Assam	5
Punjab	33	Burma	12
N. W. Frontier Province	2		
Total			350

VI. That a letter be addressed to the British Committee of the Indian National Congress requesting the Committee to wind up and send a statement of their liabilities, and also to forward proposals for the further work of disseminating information in the United Kingdom.

VII. That a final reminder be sent to the various Provincial Congress Committees about the arrears due from them to the All-India Congress Committee, giving details as to how the amounts of arrears have been arrived at.

VIII. That the next meeting of the Working Committee be held at Bombay on the 18th January 1921, at 3 p. m.

[The next meeting of the committee was however not held in Bombay but at Calcutta as mentioned below]

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee which met at Calcutta on January 31st and February 1st, 2nd and 3rd 1921.

I. All funds of the Congress shall, subject to the payment of existing liabilities, be treated as part of the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund and transferred to that Fund.

II. All contributions to the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund shall be used for the purpose of financing the Indian National Service and the Non-Co-operation movement in general, and shall be

administered by the various Provincial Congress Committees and the All-India Congress Committee.

III. The Provincial Congress Committees shall remit to the Treasurers of the All-India Congress Committee 25% of their collections not later than a fortnight after the collections are made, and shall administer in their respective provinces the remaining 75% for purposes mentioned in the foregoing resolution.

IV. That rupees one lakh donated by Seth Jamnalal Bajaj shall be accounted to the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund and remain at the disposal of Mahatma Gandhi for the support of lawyers who give up their practice and stand in need of support.

V. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj of the firm of Bachraj Jamnalal, 183-185, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay, shall be the Working Treasurer of the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund. He shall keep not more than Rs. 25,000 in hand and shall deposit the excess over Rs. 25,000 in account current with any bank out of the banks selected by both the Treasurers, who shall decide what amount shall be kept in fixed deposit and in what bank, and such fixed deposit shall be kept in the names of both the Treasurers.

VI. The allowance granted to a lawyer shall, in no case, exceed Rs. 100 per mensem.

VII. That all vouchers signed or countersigned by Pandit Motilal Nehru, General Secretary, shall

be sufficient warrant for the Working Treasurer to honour them, it being understood that each voucher shall clearly specify the purpose for which the money is required.

VIII. That the following members of the Working Committee be put in charge of the supervision and organization of work in pursuance of the resolution of the Congress on non-violent Non-Co-operation in their respective provinces. They shall furnish fortnightly to the General Secretary for publication all information relating to the work done, more especially that in connection with lawyers suspending practice, students and teachers coming out of Government and aided institutions and the establishment of National Schools and Colleges and also of Arbitration Courts.

Madras and Kerala .....Syt. C. Rajagopalachariar
Andhra..... .....Sj. K. Venkatappayya
Maharashtra and Karnatak.....Sj. N. C. Kelkar.
City of Bombay, Gujrat, Sindh and Burma. Sj. S. G. Banker.
United Provinces and Behar.....Pt. Motilal Nehru.
Punjab and N. W. F. Provinces.....Lala Lajpat Rai.
Delhi and Ajmer-Rajputana.....Dr. M. A. Ansari.
Bengal and Surma-Valley, Utkal and Assam.....Sj. C. R. Das.
C.P. (Hindustani), C.P. (Marathi) and Berar. Dr. B. S. Moonje.

IX. That, with reference to the enquiries made in regard to resolution No. 5 of the Congress regarding the non-completion of contracts due to the manipulation of exchange, this Committee advises the public

that the resolution may not be acted upon pending the publication of the report and recommendations of the committee appointed thereunder.

X. That Sj. C. R. Das be requested to take steps with regard to resolution No. 7 of the Congress regarding labour organization.

XI. That Sj. L.R. Tairsee be appointed convener of the Economic Boycott Committee appointed at Nagpur.

XII. That Sj. G. B. Deshpande be co-opted to the Working Committee.

XIII. That with regard to the C. P. (Hindustani) members of the All-India Congress Committee, the C. P. (Hindustani) and C. P. (Marathi) Provincial Congress Committees be requested to forward to the General Secretary their views and recommendations.

XIV. That the application of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee for more representation on the All-India Congress Committee cannot be entertained as this committee was over represented under the old Constitution, and is also, in the opinion of the Working Committee, over-represented under the present Constitution.

XV. This Committee, having carefully considered the student movement in all its bearings, is of opinion that the organizers and professors and teachers of colleges and high schools nationalized or

to be nationalized or opened in accordance with the Congress resolution on non-violent Non-Co-operation, should draw up and publish a new curriculum to be in keeping with the national requirements and to be enforced in full at the end of the current year and advises them during the transition and preparation period to confine their attention:—

(1) to teaching hand-spinning and manufacture of yarn in order forthwith to supplement the shortage of yarn spun in Indian mills and to encourage the revival of the art of spinning,

(2) to teaching Hindustani through the Devanagari and Urdu Scripts,

(3) to enable the students to assimilate through their mother-tongues the instruction already acquired,

(4) and, for those students who desire to devote themselves to immediate national service in the way of village organization etc., to give them a short course of training to fit them for the purpose

XVI. This Committee advises Provincial Congress Committees to organise, for their respective provinces, the Indian National Service contemplated in the Non-Co-operation resolution and, in so doing, to ensure the fulfilment of the following minimum requirements :—

(1) Candidates should possess a competent knowledge of the vernacular of their province and hand-spinning, and an elementary knowledge of the economic, social and political condition of this country to the satisfaction of the Board to be appointed by the Provincial Con-

gress Committee and approved by the All-India Congress Committee, and consisting of at least one doctor, one educationist and one businessman.

(2) Candidates should be free from any incurable disease or habit that would interfere with the due discharge of their duties.

(3) Candidates should produce to the satisfaction of the said Board a certificate of character signed by at least two respectable men of their districts.

(4) Candidates should promise to devote their whole time and attention to the service entrusted to them from time to time.

(5) A candidate should be liable to instant dismissal for neglect of duty, breach of discipline, dishonesty or non-compliance with the requirements of the Non-Co-operation resolution applicable to him or her.

(6) Contracts should be for the current year.

(7) Candidates should receive no more than what is required for the maintenance of their dependents and themselves and, in no case, more than Rs. 50 per month.

(8) No candidate should be approved who is found to be heavily in debt or who has a family that cannot be reasonably supported by a monthly honorarium of Rs. 50.

(9) No candidate shall be appointed who does not comply or has not complied with the requirements of the Non-Co-operation resolution especially applicable to him or her.

(10) Candidates should not be under the age of 18.

(11) All candidates approved by the said Board shall sign the contracts in triplicate, one copy to be filed at the office of the Provincial Congress Committee, one to be filed with the All-India Congress Committee not

later than eight days after the signing of the contract, and one to be retained by the approved candidate.

(12) Each candidate shall receive a letter of appointment and instructions to be signed by the Chairman of the Provincial Congress Committee, which shall include specific directions for the strictest observance of non-violence in word and deed and the details of service to be performed by the candidates selected.

XVII. That the Model Rules published in *Young India* of the 12th January 1921 be recommended for adoption by the Provincial Congress Committees with such modifications as they consider necessary and that the following clause be included in those rules:—That 100 be the number fixed for the strength of the Provincial Congress Committee and that 75 members out of 100 be elected directly by the Congress Committees and the remaining 25 be elected by those 75 members.

XVIII. That the All-India Congress Committee do meet in the first week of April at Allahabad.

XIX. That the next meeting of the Working Committee be held at Bezwada on Thursday the 3rd March 1921.

XX. Read the following telegram dated the 31st January 1921 from Syt. C. Rajagopalachariar:—

"Regret unable attend meeting. Selected full time public workers for Tamil, Kerala part Karnatak about hundred, of whom about forty lawyers suspending practice. Pending collection Tilak Fund sanction drawing five thousand six hundred per month. Students' movement progressing rapidly though

newspapers do not show up news. Must carry on against parental opposition, least two months. Must draw three thousand per month for this. Committee must immediately wire authority issuing Swarajya Fund receipts in name of Congress for convenient denominations like Khilafat receipts. Confident to make up all advances in three months. Do not hope large sums Madras."

Resolved that a sum of Rs. 8,600 be advanced to Tamil, Kerala and the Karnatak parts of the Madras Presidency for one month for the present, and for future advances the matter be placed before the next meeting of the Working Committee.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Bezwada on the 31st March and 1st April 1921.

I. That, in the absence of the Joint Treasurer, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj do have power to deposit money in a safe and suitable bank of his own choice in his own name. Resolved further that Seth Jamnalal Bajaj be empowered to appoint on his own responsibility the Agent of his firm for the time being as his substitute in dealing with the Congress Fund.

Note :—It was the unanimous sense of the meeting that the time had not yet arrived for non-payment of taxes.

II. Read letter of Mr. A. Fenner Brockway regarding the dissemination of news in the United Kingdom and resolved that the matter do lie over to await Mr. Ben C. Spoor's letter and further correspondence if necessary.

III. Read Mr. Patel's letter dated 24-3-21 and the whole correspondence. Resolved, in view of the fact that his statement does not enable the Committee to find out the exact state of accounts in this connection and that Mr. Patel has not alluded to the two items of £650 and £700 mentioned in Mr. Bomanji's letter, that Mr. Patel be requested to be so good as to furnish the Committee with a fuller and more detailed account and statement of the whole of his receipts and expenditure in connection with his deputation.

IV. Read letter of Mr. Deep Narayan Singh, Secretary, Labour Sub-Committee, asking for a sum of Rs. 1,500 to meet advertising and travelling expenses and resolved that the application be referred to the Labour Sub-Committee for favour of report to be considered at the next meeting.

V. Read letter dated 18-3-21 of Pandit Mohanlal Nehru, Secretary, U.P. Provincial Congress Committee, asking for a loan of Rs. 6,000 for carrying on propaganda and collecting funds, and resolved that a lump sum of Rs. 6,000 be advanced and that the same be payable before the end of June.

VI. That the question of the arrears due from the various Provincial Congress Committees be adjourned to the next meeting.

VII. Resolved that Rs. 17,000 be sanctioned for the remainder of the current year for the expenses of the office of the President, the Secretaries, and the Cashier, and that out of the above a sum of Rs. 300 per mensem be assigned to Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar for the expenses of his Secretary and the President's steno-typist.

VIII. Read letter dated 29-3-21 of Lala Lajpat Rai and Mr. N. C. Kelkar asking that a sum of 1000 dollars be remitted by cable to Mr. D. V. S. Rao of the India Home Rule League of America, 1400 Broadway, New York, and resolved that the same be so remitted.

IX. Read letter of Mr. K. A. Desai suggesting a separate Provincial Congress Committee for the Hindi districts of the Punjab and resolved that this Committee cannot accept the suggestion.

X. This Committee strongly recommends to the people the observance of complete hartals accompanied by fasting and prayers on the 6th and the 13th April in memory of two great events of national importance and specially urges the people to maintain strict non-violence.

XI. Read letters of Muzaffarnagar, Saharanpur and Aligarh District Congress Committees asking to be allowed to affiliate themselves to the Delhi Pro-

vincial Congress Committee, and resolved that they be informed that this is a matter for the districts concerned to arrange with Delhi, but that it will not affect the number of representatives on the All-India Congress Committee until a representation is received from the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee.

XII. Read telegram dated 31-3-21 from the Secretary, Rajshahi District Congress Committee regarding the escape from Rajshahi jail of 669 convicts and resolved that the Secretary be requested to furnish further particulars of the matter.

XIII. That copies of the scheme for organizing Volunteer Corps in this country prepared by Mr. I. G. Gune of Amalner be printed and circulated to the members of the All-India Congress Committee.

XIV. That in view of the representations received from several provinces the strength of membership on the All-India Congress Committee be resettled as follows:—

Province	*No. of Members.*	*Province*	*No. of Members.*
Madras ..	.. 25	Ajmer ..	.. 7
Andhra ..	.. 24	C P. (Hindustani)	.. 13
Karnatak ..	.. 15	C. P. (Marathi)	.. 7
Kerala ..	.. 8	Berar ..	.. 7
City of Bombay	.. 7	Bihar ..	.. 33
Maharashtra	.. 16	Utkal ..	.. 12
Gujarat ..	.. 12	Bengal ..	.. 48

Sindh	9	Delhi	5
United Provinces ..	48	Assam	5
Punjab	33	Burma	12
N. W. Frontier Province	4		
Total	350		

XV. That the next meeting of the Working Committee be held at Anand Bhawan, Allahabad at 4 p. m. on the 10th May 1921.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Allahabad on May 10th 1921.

I. Considered the accounts of the British Committee and the *India* Newspaper Co., Ltd. Resolved that the General Secretary do write to Mr. Patel requesting him to furnish information regarding the exact powers delegated to the Congress deputation by or on behalf of the All-India Congress Committee to be exercised in England and the exact terms of the arrangement arrived at between the deputation and the directors of the *India*.

Mr. Blizard, Secretary, *India* Newspaper Co., Ltd., to be requested to furnish a copy of the original letter written by the Congress deputation to the directors of the *India* and to furnish information regarding the nature of the balance in hand (£926-4-0) of the *India* Newspaper Co., Ltd., on the date of the undertaking, namely July 11th, 1919.

II. The Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee having read Mr. Fenner Brockway's letter and all other correspondence resolves, (a) That Mr. Brockway in opening an Information

Bureau on behalf of the All-India Congress Committee has acted without authority and in contravention of specific instructions given to Mr. Ben Spoor to the effect that no Information Bureau or any other office on behalf of the All-India Congress Committee was to be established without previous sanction from the Committee. This Committee, therefore, regrets that it cannot sanction the establishment of the said Bureau or the payment of any expense that Mr. Brockway might have incurred. (b) That the consideration of the scheme for the Bureau be postponed to the next meeting. (c) That a copy of the resolution be sent to Mr. Ben Spoor for his information.

III. Resolved that a copy of Mr. Bomanji's reply to Seth Jamnalalji, regarding his promised donation of Rs. 10,000 per mensem till the attainment of Swarajya, be sent to Mahatma Gandhi, who will send a suitable reply to Mr. Bomanji.

IV. Resolved that the request of the Bombay P. C. C. that Rs. 4911 paid by that Committee to Dr. Sathaye, Secretary Deputation fund, be credited to that Committee, be referred to Mr. Kelkar. Secretary Deputation Selection Committee for information to be supplied at the next meeting of the Working Committee. Mr. Kelkar be requested to confer with Dr. Sathaye to complete the information.

V. Resolved that letters be written to the new secretaries of the various Provincial Congress Committees requesting them to meet their old liabili-

ties to the All-India Congress Committee and the British Committee from the balance in hand on the date the Tilak Swarajya Fund was started, and remit the amounts to the All-India Congress Committee.

VI. That the Working Committee do meet on Tuesday the 14th June 1921 at Bombay.

VII. That the invitations of the Sholapur and Lucknow District Congress Committees regarding the next meeting of the All- India Congress Committee be considered at the next meeting of the Working Committee to be held at Bombay.

VIII. In the opinion of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee it is not open to any one to become an original member of more than one Congress body or to become a candidate of more than one constituency, provided that no one whose name appears on any Congress register is precluded from becoming a member of Congress Committees of various grades. Thus A cannot be enrolled on more than one Congress register or stand for election as a member of more than one parallel body but he can be a member, for instance, of a District Committee, a Provincial Committee and the All-India Congress Committee at the same time.

IX. The Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee resolves that in provinces where Provincial Congress Committees have not been properly formed in accordance with the terms of the new

constitution it is open to subsidiary bodies to collect the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund and send 25% of such collection directly to the Treasurer of the All-India Congress Committee without delay.

X. In the opinion of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee it is the duty of all national institutions, educational and others, whether conducted under the aegis of the Congress organisation or otherwise, but controlled by non-co-operators, and including Provincial Congress Committees, to render to the local public a detailed monthly statement of their income and expenditure and to forward to the office of the All-India Congress Committee a copy thereof every month.

XI. In view of the increased strength of the All-India Congress Committee, the General Secretary do publish notices of meetings in the press and send copies of such notices as also of the agenda of business in good time to the different Provincial Congress Committees who will in future circulate them among the members of the All-India Congress Committee.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Bombay on the 14th and 15th June 1921.

[Mahatma Gandhi was in the chair. He explained that Pandit Motilal Nehru could not come owing to illness, and Lala Lajpat Rai on account of Congress work in the Punjab.

The Chairman made a statement about his interview with the Viceroy.

The situation in respect of the collections for the Tilak Swarajya Fund was discussed and members from various provinces gave information in respect of it.]

I. Telegram to be sent to the City Congress Committee, Lahore, that no civil disobedience should be undertaken until the All India Congress Committee decides it after full consideration.

II. The General Secretary is requested to pay to the *India* Newspaper Company, Limited, the amount legally payable without further reference to this Committee.

III. Regarding the Information Bureau scheme, the following cable to be sent:—

"Scheme considered unacceptable. Establishment bureau unauthorised. Committee repudiates all liability."

IV. The correspondence regarding Mr. Patel's deputation accounts is recorded.

V. The next meeting of the All-India Congress Committee be held at 8 A. M. on Friday, July 22 at Lucknow.

VI A reference has been made to the Working Committee as to the distribution of the funds collected in various provinces and as to whether certain collections made for local purposes can be regarded as part of the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund. With regard to this the Working Committee is of opinion that it is advisable that a certain proportion, being not less than 50%, should be retained by the

districts or tehsils, whichever may be the contributing unit. This does not apply to large cities such as Bombay, Calcutta, etc.

Collections made for or donations given to local institutions or for other local needs arising out of non-co-operation may be retained wholly by the organizers and at their instance be considered part of the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund. It is open to donors of this fund to earmark their donations whether in respect of the object or the place of utilization, so long as the donation is not inconsistent with the objects of the Fund.

VII In view of the misunderstanding as to the interpretation and meaning of the Congress resolution regarding lawyers and law courts, the Working Committee resolves that non-co-operators should, in the event of prosecution or a civil suit being brought against them, not participate in the proceedings beyond making before the court a full statement of facts in order to establish their innocence before the public. The Working Committee is further of opinion that where security is demanded from non-co-operators under the provisions of the Cr. P. Code they shall refuse furnishing such security and offer to undergo imprisonment.

In the opinion of the Working Committee the Congress resolution precludes non-co-operating lawyers from appearing as counsel with or without payment.

VIII The resignations of Sriyut A.C. Mazumdar, ex-officio member, All-India Congress Committee, and Sriyut Deep Narayan Singh, Secretary Labour Sub-Committee be accepted.

IX. The Working Committee draws the attention of all the Provincial Congress Committees to clause 3 of Article VIII of the Constitution and advises them to base the strength of their delegates to the Congress on the Census figures of 1911.

X. Resolved that in electing delegates to the Congress and provincial and other conferences and members to the All-India Congress Committee and other Congress bodies consisting of representatives, all Provincial and other Congress Committees be advised to give full effect to the proportion fixed in the Lucknow Compact with reference to Mahomedan representation on the Legislative Councils.

XI. Resolved that with reference to the Hathras Congress committee, the Secretaries of the Delhi and U. P. Provincial Congress Committees be requested to confer together and send joint proposals.

XII. The attention of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee is invited to the last clause of resolution 10 passed by the Working Committee at Bezwada, and this Committee resolves that, in view of the letter having been received from the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee in terms of that resolution, the letter might be given effect to by transferring the proportion of members on the All-India Congress Committee belonging to the transferred districts.

XIII. The application of R. C. I. and Ajmer-Merwara Provincial Congress Committee for the remission of part of 25% of their Tilak Swarajya Fund collections cannot be granted.

XIV. Sriyut Padamraj Jain's letter regarding the administration of the Tilak Swarajya Fund in Bengal is referred for disposal to Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.

XV. In the opinion of this Committee it is open to the Provincial Congress Committees to spend any part of the Tilak Swarajya Fund administered by them for any purpose that may further the cause of non-co-operation.

XVI The letter of Sriyuts I. B. Sen, B. K. Lahiri and Das Gupta regarding model rules is recorded.

XVII. The suggestion of the Secretary R. C. I. and Ajmer-Merwara Provincial Congress Committee regarding the declaration of the first week of July as a national week, is not accepted.

XVIII. With reference to a question raised as to the propriety of Indians assisting the British Government in the event of its re-opening active hostilities against the Turkish Government at Angora, the Working Committee is of opinion that consistently with the non-co-operation resolution adopted by the special session of the Congress at Calcutta, it is the duty of every Indian to refrain from helping the British Government in the prosecution of such hostilities in direct defiance of Musalman opinion and it is

therefore the duty of the Indian soldier class to decline to serve in connection therewith.

XIX. The Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee authorises Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, or any other person duly authorised by him in this behalf, to operate on deposits of the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund in all banks.

Notwithstanding the above authority it is distinctly understood that Seth Jamnalal Bajaj is responsible for the monies to whichsoever agent he might give authority to draw on the banks.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Bombay on the 31st July and 2nd August 1921.

I. Resolved that a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to enquire into the firing by the authorities on the crowd at Dharwar on the 1st of July, and the full circumstances connected therewith, and to make a full report thereon within a month:—

(1) Srijut Bhawani Shanker.
(2) M. Abbas S. Tyabji.
(3) Srijut S. S. Setlur.

That the Secretary of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee be requested to serve as Secretary to the Committee for the purpose.

II. Resolved that the differences between the Karnatak and Andhra Provinces in the matter of the affiliation of the Bellary district be referred to an Arbitration Committee consisting of two repre-

sentatives from each of the Provincial Congress Committees, with an umpire to be chosen by the four and to report within a month to the Working Committee.

III. With reference to the Sikh representation in Congress organizations, the Working Committee notes that the instructions given at its meeting on the 14th and 15th of June 1921, regarding the Lucknow compact, were purely of an advisory nature. The Working Committee therefore requests the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee to guard the communal representation of the Sikhs in any future elections in accordance with the spirit of the Lucknow Compact.

IV. Resolved that Srijut Sopariwalla be and is hereby appointed auditor to examine the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees in accordance with the instructions to be given to him by the Working Secretary from time to time.

V. The Working Committee appoints Srijut Sopariwalla also to audit the accounts of the All-India Congress Committee.

VI. The Working Committee requests all the Provincial Congress Committees to make up their actual accounts up to August 31st, and have the audited accounts ready on or before September 30th for examination by the All-India auditor.

VII. The travelling allowance and remuneration, if any, of Srijut Sopariwalla will be fixed by the Treasurers.

VIII. That Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Mr. Umar Sobani, who have already been appointed as Treasurers to the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund, are hereby empowered to open an account or accounts with a bank or banks selected by them in the name of the Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund and to withdraw moneys and generally operate on the accounts under their own signatures either jointly or severally.

And further Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Mr. Umar Sobani are hereby empowered to appoint an attorney or attornies either jointly or severally from time to time who shall either jointly or severally have exactly the same powers to operate on the Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund accounts as are hereby granted to the said Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Mr. Umar Sobani.

IX. That Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Motilal Nehru be authorised to represent this Committee and to discuss with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya the matter of the monies collected for Punjab Relief, handed over by Swami Shradhanand and now in the hands of the Allahabad Seva Samiti.

X. That the contributions towards the cost of Privy Council appeals made by persons accused of offences under the Martial Law in the Punjab be refunded to such of them as desire it after deducting therefrom the proportionate cost actually incurred in each case and that the deficit, if any, be met from the general Punjab Inquiry and Relief Fund. Resolved further that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya

and Pandit Motilal Nehru be requested to close the Punjab accounts after making the said payments and lay them before this Committee with a view to the final disposal of the balance in hand.

XI. The accounts of costs incurred in England on matters connected with the administration of Martial Law in the Punjab furnished by Messrs. Barrow, Rogers and Nevill do not enable the Committee to understand them with a view to their acceptance and the Committee requests Pandit Motilal Nehru to correspond with Messrs. Barrow, Rogers and Nevill on the subject.

XII. That the representation of Bond Brothers as to the non-payment of their dues by the Reception Committee of the Amritsar Congress be referred to Lala Lajpat Rai and the Company be informed accordingly.

XIII. With reference to the letter received from the Hathras Congress Committee, the Secretary of the said Committee be informed that Hathras is at liberty to affiliate itself to the Delhi Province if so advised, but that its transfer from the U. P. shall be without prejudice to the redistribution of seats in the All-India Congress Committee arrived at by the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee in terms of the resolution No. 15 of the Working Committee dated the 14th and 15th of June 1921.

XIV. A sum of Rs. 10,000 be granted to the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee for general

N. C. O. purposes to supplement their funds. The Committee is requested to report the disbursements of this sum and to submit a detailed estimate of further expenditure at the time of making a further demand.

XV. With reference to the application for famine relief from the Punjab and any such other applications that may come before the All-India Congress Committee, the Working Committee allocates for all provinces one lakh of rupees, and out of this sum votes Rs. 25,000 (twenty-five thousand) for the Punjab, with instructions to all Committees in charge of famine relief that such relief should be principally distributed with a view to advancing Swadeshi and that such funds be administered through the sole agency of the Congress Committees.

XVI. That a Sub-Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to consider the proposition of preparing a scheme for the dissemination of news in India:—

(1) Lala Lajpat Rai,
(2) Moulana Mohamed Ali,
(3) Pandit Motilal Nehru.

At this stage the President expressed the opinion that the elections to the All-India Congress Committee held in Bengal and Madras were illegal and *ultra vires* and declared his intention to give his reasons in writing later on.

Mahatma Gandhi then proposed the following resolution :—

XVII. Without prejudice to the constitutional questions relating to the elections to the All-India

Congress Committee held in Bengal and Madras last month and without going into the merits thereof, in view of the fact that fresh elections must take place in or before November next all over India, and in view of the fact that a heavy intensive programme is at present set before all Congress organizations, this Committee considers it undesirable, in the interests of the country, to disturb the said elections and advises such persons from Bengal and Madras as feel themselves aggrieved to co-operate with the provincial organizations in both the provinces with a view to the prosecution of the programme to a successful issue.

The motion was duly seconded by Moulana Mohamed Ali.

Srijut Patel objected that, in view of the President's ruling, the motion was not in order. After some discussion, the President left the meeting to write a statement of his reasons. Before leaving he asked Pandit Motilal Nehru to take his place during his absence. After some discussion the motion was ruled in order and being put to the vote was passed by a majority, one voting against and one not voting.

XVIII. All applications for grants be disposed of by a committee consisting of:—

Mahatma Gandhi,
Pandit Motilal Nehru and
Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.

At this stage the President, Srijut Vijiaraghavachariar, returned to the meeting and resumed the chair.

XIX. With reference to the complaint of Srijut J. M. Mehta of Bombay that the elections of the

office-bearers of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee that took place on the 27th April 1921, are void and should therefore be held afresh, it was resolved that Sj. Mehta be requested to submit a written statement of his reasons and to be present at the next meeting of the Working Committee.

XX. That the letter asking for travelling allowances for the members of the All-India Congress Committee from Sriyuts C. R. Das and J. M. Mehta, the letter from M. Yakub Ali Khan regarding an All-India organization of volunteers, the letter from Sjt. Gauri Shanker Bhargava, Secretary, Rajputana Provincial Congress Committee asking for larger representation of his province on the All-India Congress Committee etc., and the letter from Babu Bhagwan Das of Benares formulating a scheme for Swarajya, be recorded.

XXI. That the next meeting of the Working Committee be held at Patna on the 16th of August.

After the meeting was dissolved and all the members except Sjt. Rajagopalachari had left, the President dictated the following note to the Assistant Secretary.—

"The President delivered his ruling orally that the elections to the All-India Congress Committee by the Bengal and Madras Provincial Congress Committees are illegal and *ultra vires* and that the members so elected are not duly elected members of the All-India Congress Committee and that fresh elections should take place. He made certain observations which will be embodied in writing by him and sent to the office at Allahabad."

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Patna on the 16th August 1921.

I. That the minutes of the last meetings of the Working Committee held at Bombay on July 31st. and August 2nd. be confirmed.

II. That the resignations of Syts. Jairamdas Doulatram, Choithram and Prof. Gidwani of their seats on the All-India Congress Committee be accepted and copies of the same be forwarded to the Sindh Provincial Congress Committee with a view to conducting fresh elections, the attention of the Provincial Congress Committee being drawn to resolution No. 13 of the Working Committee held on the 14th and 15th June 1921.

III. That the resignations of Syts. Makhanlal Chaturvedi (Hindustani C. P.) and R. R. Pathak (Marathi C. P.) of their seats on the All-India Congress Committee and the new elections by the provinces in their places of M. Akbar Khan and Syt. N. K. Ambokar respectively be noted.

IV. The Working Committee, after due consideration of the letter from Syt. J. M. Mehta stating that the resolution No. 8 of the Working Committee, dated Allahabad, the 10th May 1921, is *ultra vires* and of no consequence, sees no reason to reconsider that resolution.

V. That the question of formulating a clear and definite foreign policy for India be adjourned for special consideration at the next meeting of the

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Working Committee and in the meanwhile Mahatma Gandhi be requested to prepare a note on the subject for the consideration of the Working Committee.

VI. With reference to Mr. Tyabji's letter asking for extension of time limit for submitting the report of the Dharwar Firing Inquiry Committee to the 15th of September, the Working Committee is of opinion that the matter being urgent there should be no extension of time.

VII. With reference to the letter from Dr. B. S. Moonje, General Secretary, Reception Committee, Nagpur, resolved that the suggestion of not publishing the names of the delegates and members of the Reception Committee be accepted, that the speeches of the Chairman, the President and Mahatma Gandhi should be published in the languages in which they were delivered with translations where they are available and that the vernacular reports be secured as far as possible.

VIII. That the General Secretary of the Reception Committee, Nagpur, be informed that the remittances due to the All-India Congress Committee by the Reception Committee have been delayed too long and that the accounts and balance be submitted to the All-India Congress Committee on or before the 31st August 1921.

IX. That the forms submitted by Messrs. C. H. Sopariwala & Co. be approved and the Company be instructed to have them printed and circulated direct

to the provinces to be given effect to, and that the expenses of printing be paid by the Working Treasurer directly to the Company.

X. With reference to Syt. Jairamdas's letter dated the 28th July 1921, resolved that the resolutions of the Working Committee should be construed in accordance with the tenor of each resolution.

XI That the inclusion of the Bastar State in the province of Utkal be authorised as being in accordance with resolution No. 1 of the Working Committee, dated Nagpur the 1st January 1921.

XII. That the consideration of Syt. Sohoni's letter regarding the organisation of Volunteer Corps be adjourned to the next meeting of the Working Committee.

XIII. That the consideration of the letter from U. P. Provincial Congress Committee regarding the District of Hardoi (U. P.) requesting permission to start Civil Disobedience of orders under Section 144 be adjourned to the next meeting of the Working Committee, and in the meanwhile the Provincial Congress Committee be asked as to the action they would prefer to take.

XIV. With reference to the letter dated 11th August 1921 of the Secretary, Maharashtra Provincial Committee, about collections in different provinces, it was resolved that the allocation of the funds collected in different places depends entirely upon the wish of the donors.

XV. That, if the facts, stated in the letter from the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, dated the 11th August 1921, with reference to the balance in hand of the old Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, be admitted by the treasurer in question, the share referred to should be handed over to the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee

XVI. In the opinion of the Working Committee in order to give full effect to the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee on Swadeshi, to bring about an effective boycott of foreign cloth before the 30th September, it is necessary to collect foreign cloth from every house and to set apart volunteers under proper control for that purpose. In order to cope with the demand for khaddar that must arise from the boycott, it is also necessary for every Provincial Congress Committee to set apart and spend not less than one-fourth of the whole of the collections made in that province for the All-India Tilak Swarajya Fund, to organise the spread of handspinning, the collection of handspun yarn, weaving of khaddar and distribution thereof. The Working Committee advises all workers to concentrate chiefly on boycott and manufacture and invites the Provincial Congress Committee to send telegraphic weekly reports to the Working Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee, giving the production of khaddar, the quantity distributed, the number of shops selling foreign cloth closed, and of

such shopkeepers who may have undertaken to stop selling foreign cloth, by the 30th September, and the number of shopkeepers stocking Khaddar.

XVII. The Working Committee regrets to note from the information given by the Treasurer that many provinces have not yet sent 25% of collections realised by them to the Working Treasurer, and requests such Committees to send the same not later than the 31st August, and instructs the Working Secretary not to authorise payment of any grants sanctioned by the sub-committee for such provinces that cannot produce a certificate of full payment of their contribution due to the All-India Congress Committee.

XVIII. That the next meeting of the Working Committee be held in Calcutta at 148, Russa Road on the 6th September at 9 A. M.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Calcutta, on the 6th, 7th, 8th and 11th September 1921.

I. That a sub-committee of Syt. Patel and Babu Rajendra Prasad be appointed to go through the report of the Dharwar Firing Inquiry Sub-Committee and to submit their suggestions to the Committee in order to enable them to authorise an early publication of the report.

II. That the note on foreign policy prepared and placed before the meeting by Mahatma Gandhi be

recast in the light of the discussion by the members, and be circulated among the members of the Working Committee, and submitted for approval at the next meeting of the Working Committee.

III. That a sub-committee of Maulana Mohamed Ali and Seth Jamnalal Bajaj be appointed to consider the volunteers scheme submitted by Syt. Sohoni through the C. P. Marathi, P. C. C. and to submit proposals for the guidance of the volunteer corps at the next meeting.

IV. That resolution No. 8 of the Working Committee at Calcutta in February last be rescinded.

V. That it is obligatory on all the Provincial Congress Committees to have fresh elections of members of the All-India Congress Committee in November next.

VI. With reference to the letter of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee of the 17th August, raising the question of the necessity of the election of the members of the All-India Congress Committee as delegates, resolved that in the opinion of the Working Committee it is necessary for the members of the All-India Congress Committee to be elected as delegates in order to entitle them to take part in the Congress proceedings and, therefore, the Working Committee advises the Provincial Congress Committees in framing their rules for the election of delegates to treat the constituency that elects members of the All-India Congress Committee as a constituency for the election of delegates to the Con-

gress and regard such members of the All-India Congress Committee as having been also duly elected as delegates to the Congress, and

VII. that the Working Committee desires the Provincial Congress Committees to note that it is necessary for the President-elect, the ex-Presidents, the Treasurers and Secretaries to be elected as delegates to entitle them to take part in the Congress proceedings.

VIII. That the adoption of the method of single transferable vote, in the matter of the election of delegates to the Congress, be left to the option of the Provincial Congress Committees.

IX. With reference to the letter of Syt. J. M. Mehta of August 14th, giving his reasons in writing regarding his complaint that the elections of the office-bearers of the Bombay Provincial Committee held on the 27th April were illegal and *ultra vires*, and the reply of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to that letter, resolved that a copy of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee's reply be forwarded to Syt. J. M. Mehta for rejoinder if he desires to follow up the controversy.

X. With reference to the statement made by Syt. Patel during the discussion of the above letter, that his name and that of Syt. Mehta were struck off the register of membership of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee without notice to them to exercise their choice of belonging either to the

Bombay or to Maharashtra, P. C. C. resolved that a letter be written to the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee asking them to explain why their names were so struck off.

(While examining the rules of the various Provincial Congress Committees it was decided that with reference to rule 25 of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee, the Sind Committee be referred to resolution VIII of the Working Committee at Allahabad in May Mr Patel dissented.)

XI. With reference to the letter of Syt. Mandlik of Bombay of the 25th August asking Dr. Athavale now in England to be authorised to collect subscriptions to the Tilak Swarajya Fund, resolved that it is not the practice of the Working Committee to appoint any agency for collections.

XII. With reference to Dr. Moonje's letter of the 24th August, resolved that the All-India Congress Committee can not accept furniture in lieu of their dues from the Reception Committee at Nagpur, and that the Reception Committee is bound to discharge their dues, and the Working Committee invites the attention of the Secretary to the fact that National Schools all over India are discouraged from using chairs and desks.

XIII. With reference to the correspondence asking for the authority of the Working Committee for civil disobedience in respect of the grazing-tax in certain parts of Andhra, resolved that the parties concerned be asked to meet Mahatma Gandhi at Madras during his forthcoming visit to that province, and

that the Working Committee authorises the latter to approve of civil disobedience, if in his opinion the situation warrants such a step consistently with perfect observance of non-violence.

XIV. With reference to the letter of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee of the 16th August, regarding the affiliation of Cutch to Gujarat, resolved that the Working Committee have no objection to that affiliation if Sind to which it is affiliated at present agrees to it.

XV. That the letters of Syt. S. V. Lalit complaining against the restriction of the number of visitors by the Reception Committee at Ahmedabad be referred to the said Reception Committee.

XVI. With reference to the letter of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee of the 3rd September, raising the question of the propriety of making grants by the Congress organisations to private individuals engaged in the manufacture of Khaddar for profit, resolved that the Working Committee sees no objection on principle to such grants being made, but is of opinion that every case must be strictly judged on its own merits.

XVII. With reference to the letter of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee of the 2nd September, asking for reconsideration of resolution No. 14 of the Working Committee at Patna, resolved that the said resolution stands, and that if any concrete cases of injustice in that connection be sub-

mitted to the Working Committee, the Committee will be prepared to investigate them.

XVIII. That in the opinion of the Working Committee non-co-operators should refuse to pay fine or serve as special constables and should prefer imprisonment.

XIX. That the letter of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee of the 16th August, communicating the resignation of M. Syed Ahmad Edroos from the All India Congress Committee and the election of Syt. R. M. Mehta in his place, be noted.

XX. That the Working Committee having considered the suggestions made by Syt. V. J. Patel and Babu Rajendra Prasad, members of the sub-committee appointed (by resolution I above) to go through the report of the Dharwar Firing Inquiry Sub-Committee, authorises the Secretary to ask the Commissioners to permit deletion of paras 39 and 40 and, subject to such deletion, sanctions the publication of the report.

XXI. That the Working Committee thanks Messrs Bhavani Shankar Niyogi, Abbas Tyabji and S. S. Setlur, the Commissioners appointed on the Dharwar Firing Inquiry Sub-Committee, for their careful and prompt report.

XXII. That the next meeting of the Working Committee be held at Satyagrahashram, Ahmedabad on the 6th October at 11 A. M.

XXIII. The Working Committee requests the Provincial Congress Committees of Punjab and Ben-

gal to take immediate steps to recover from the parties concerned the proportion of delegation fees due to the All-India Congress Committee in respect of the ordinary session of the Congress at Amritsar, in December 1919, and the special session held in Calcutta in September 1920, respectively.

XXIV. That the resolutions of the Patna meeting of the Working Committee be confirmed.

XXV. The Working Committee places on record its sense of deep regret over the deeds of violence done by Moplahs in certain areas of Malabar, these deeds being evidence of the fact that there are still people in India who have not understood the message of the Congress and the Central Khilafat Committee, and calls upon every Congress and Khilafat worker to spread the said message of non-violence even under the gravest provocation throughout the length and breadth of India.

Whilst, however, condemning violence on the part of the Moplahs the Working Committee desires it to be known that the evidence in its possession shows that provocation beyond endurance was given to the Moplahs and that the reports published by and on behalf of the Government have given one-sided and highly exaggerated accounts of the wrongs done by the Moplahs and an understatement of the needless destruction of life resorted to by the Government in the name of peace and order.

The Working Committee regrets to find that there have been instances of so called forcible conversion

by some fanatics among the Moplahs, but warns the public against believing in the Government and inspired versions. The report before the Committee says:—

"The families which have been reported to have been forcibly converted into Mohamedanism lived in the neighbourhood of Manjeri. It is clear that conversions were forced upon Hindus by a fanatic gang which was always opposed to the Khilafat and non-co operation movement, and there were only three cases so far as our information goes."

It has been reported to the Working Committee that the disturbances took place only in areas in which Congress and Khilafat activities were prohibited and that the Congress and the Khilafat workers tried their best at considerable risk to themselves to check the mob-fury and prevent violence.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Bombay on the 5th October 1921.

[The Working Committee was to have met at Ahmedabad on the 6th October in accordance with resolution No 22 of the Working Committee at Calcutta in September last The President and Sriyut Das intimated their inability to attend the meeting and Maulana Mohamed Ali being an undertrial prisoner at Karachi could not be expected to attend. All the other members being present in Bombay on the 4th agreed that the meeting of the Working Committee should be held there the next day. The Working Committee therefore met in Bombay on the 5th October at Mahatma Gandhi's residence in Laburnum Road.]

I. The Working Committee congratulates the Ali Brothers and their comrades upon their prose-

cution and having considered the Karachi Khilafat Conference resolution, regarding military service under Government, the Working Committee is of opinion that the resolution virtually reaffirms the principle laid down by the Congress at its special session in Calcutta and its ordinary session in Nagpur last year, that it is contrary to the national dignity and national interest for any Indian to engage or remain in the service of the Government in any capacity whatever, a government that has used the soldiers and the police for repressing the just aspirations of the people, as during the Rowlatt Act agitation, and that has utilised the soldiers for the purpose of crushing the national spirit of the Egyptians, the Turks, the Arabs and other nations. The Working Committee is further of opinion that the reasons given for the prosecutions with reference to the said Karachi resolution constitute an undue interference with religious liberty.

The Working Committee has been only deterred from calling out the soldiers and the civilians in the name of the Congress because the Congress is not yet ready to support those Government servants who may leave Government service and who may not be able themselves to find means of livelihood. The Working Committee is, however, of opinion that in pursuance of the spirit of the Congress resolution on Non-Co-operation, it is the clear duty of every Government employee, whether soldier or civilian, who can support himself without Congress assistance,

to leave such service. The Working Committee draws the attention of the Indian soldiers and police to the fact that carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving afford them by undergoing training for a brief period an honourable means for independent livelihood.

The Working Committee advises all Congress Committees to organise meetings to adopt the foregoing resolution of the Working Committee.

II. The Working Committee regrets to note that the boycott of foreign cloth, while it has made considerable progress during the last two months allowed by the All-India Congress Committee to complete it, has not been so completed, and appeals to Congress organisations to put forth special efforts to bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth in their respective districts before the end of the current month, and to that end organise manufacture of cloth by hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

III. The Working Committee considers that it is not possible to authorise any plan of general civil disobedience in any Congress district or province where effective boycott of foreign cloth has not been brought about and hand-spinning and hand-weaving have not been developed, so as to produce sufficient khaddar for the wants of the district or the province. The Working Committee, however, authorises civil disobedience by individuals who may be prevented in the prosecution of the Swadeshi propaganda provided it is done under the authority of the Provincial

Congress Committee, and the Provincial Congress Committee is assured of a non-violent atmosphere being retained.

IV. The Working Committee is of opinion that on the day of the landing of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales there should be a general voluntary *hartal* throughout India and, as to the effective boycott of any public welcome to His Royal Highness during his visit to the different cities of India, the Working Committee leaves the arrangements in the hands of the respective Provincial Congress Committees.

V. With reference to the resolution on foreign policy referred specially by the All-India Congress Committee held at Bombay in July last to the Working Committee, the latter is of opinion that the Congress should let it be known to the neighbouring and other states:

(1) that the Government of India in no way represent Indian opinion and that their policy has been traditionally guided by considerations more of holding India under subjection than of protecting her borders ;

(2) that India as a self-governing country can have nothing to fear from the neighbouring states or any state as her people have no designs upon any of them and hence no intention of establishing any trade relations hostile to or not desired by the peoples of such states;

(3) and that the people of India regard most treaties entered into with the Imperial Government by neighbouring states as mainly designed by the latter to perpetuate the exploitation of India by the imperial power, and would therefore urge the states, having no ill-will against the people of India and having no desire to injure her interests, to refrain from entering into any treaty with the imperial power.

The Committee wishes also to assure the Mussulman states that when India has attained self-government, her foreign policy will naturally be always guided so as to respect the religious obligations imposed upon Mussulmans by Islam.

Whilst such is the view of the Working Committee on foreign policy, the Committee is unwilling to let it go forth as the opinion of the All-India Congress Committee without its being fully discussed by the public and adopted at a meeting of the latter.

The Committee therefore authorises the Secretary to circulate the opinion to the press as a draft prepared for public criticism and for submission to the All-India Congress Committee for adoption.

VI. The next meeting of the Working Committee be held at Dr. Ansari's bungalow, Daryaganj, Delhi on the 3rd November at 8. A. M.

VII. The next meeting of the All-India Congress Committee be held at Dr. Ansari's bungalow, Daryaganj, Delhi on the 4th November at 8. A. M.

VIII. With reference to the letter of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee of the 2nd October asking for the approval by the Working Committee of the Arbitration Committee, appointed by the Utkal and the Andhra provinces to settle their boundaries, resolved that upon an application from both the Provincial Congress Committees the Working Committee authorises the General Secretary to approve of the Arbitration Committee referred to in the letter.

IX. That Syt. Patel be appointed on the Dissemination of News Sub-Committee of the Working Committee in the absence of Maulana Mohamed Ali.

X. Mr. Blizard's letter of the 6th September asking for an additional sum of £50 to meet all the liabilities of the Winding-up Sub-Committee of the British Congress Committee having been discussed, the General Secretary is authorised to send him a suitable reply.

XI. Mr. Blizard be requested to make over all records and the library of the British Congress Committee to Mr. J. M. Parikh who is appointed to take charge of the same and to forward them to the General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee at Allahabad.

XII. With reference to the letter of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee of the 1st October, forwarding the letter of the Aligarh District Congress Committee desiring affiliation with the Delhi

Provincial Congress Committee, resolved that the Working Committee is unable to sanction the transfer of the Aligarh District Congress Committee to Delhi from U. P.

At this stage the Treasurer read out the remittances of the various Provincial Congress Committees to the All-India Congress Committee, which were noted.

XIII. At the desire of the Working Treasurer, resolved that he be authorised to keep as cash in hand a sum not exceeding one lakh of rupees.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Delhi on the 3rd, 5th, and 6th November 1921.

[The Committee considered the draft resolutions to be moved at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee on the 4th November.

The first resolution dealt with the controversy between the President and the General Secretary acting on behalf of the Working Committee. All excepting Syt. Patel agreed to endorse the resolution of the Working Committee convening the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee on the 4th November.

The second resolution on civil disobedience was discussed for several hours The necessity of the condition imposed upon a civil resister in the resolution that he must know hand-spinning was discussed and it was decided to retain that part of the resolution dealing with it by a majority. Out of the 8 members present at the time, 3 were for retaining it, 2 for deleting, and 3 did not vote.]

I. The award of the Bellary Affiliation Committee, the dissenting minute of two of its members, and the representation by about 1000 persons from Bellary,

that the Bellary District should not be separated from the Ceded Districts, were laid before the Working Committee, and the Committee resolved that the award of the umpire be confirmed, the Working Committee being unable to interfere with it.

II. With reference to the case of injustice in the matter of the allocation of collections made for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, submitted by the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee in its letter of the 21st September, it was resolved to refer the matter to the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee asking it to settle this and similar other cases, and to ask the Maharashtra Committee to correspond with the Bombay Committee direct, and in case of any differences, to refer concrete cases which alone can be taken cognisance of by the Working Committee.

III. With reference to the letters of Maharashtra of the 20th October and of Karnatak of the 2nd October, claiming their shares of the balance in hand of the Reception Committee of the Bombay Special Session of the Congress, now in the hands of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, resolved that the Bombay Committee be asked to act upon the resolution of the old Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, passed unanimously, to divide the balance in question equally among the four committees *viz.*, Bombay, Maharashtra, Karnatak and Gujarat.

IV. The matter of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee asking for a credit from the All-

India Congress Committee for the money paid by the old Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to Dr. Sathaye for the Congress Deputation expenses be closed.

V. The claim of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, put forth in its letter of the 14th September, for a share of the balance in the hands of the old Madras Provincial Congress Committee, now transferred to the new Madras Provincial Congress Committee, be referred to the Madras Provincial Congress Committee with a request to investigate the matter and to report if there are any reasons why the share claimed should not be given.

VI. The letter of Mr. Spoor of the 28th September forwarded by Mr. Brockway was read, and it was resolved to request the Secretary to pay the money claimed if he thought proper, provided there was no trouble about the British Congress Committee handing over its records and library to Mr. Parikh.

VII. The letter of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee of the 2nd October asking the Working Committee to pay the expenses incurred by the Provincial Committee in connection with the Dharwar Firing Inquiry Committee be entrusted to Syt. Kelkar for favour of disposal.

The consideration of the following resolutions referred today by the All-India Congress Committee to the Working Committee was adjourned —

(1) "That (*a*) the proceedings of the Congress and the All India Congress Committee be carried on mainly in the Hindustani language and, where necessary, in

the provincial language. The use of English may also be permitted by the President in special cases,

(*b*) the proceedings of the Congress and the All-India Congress Committee shall be published in Hindustani (written in Nagari and Persian scripts) and, in the case of the Congress, also in the language of the province where the Congress is held,

(*c*) the speeches of the Presidents of the Reception Committee and of Congress shall be published in the languages in which they are written along with a translation in Hindustani and also in the language of the province where the Congress is held."

(2) "The Working Committee is instructed to appoint, as soon as time has arrived, a Commission to proceed to Malabar and to fix the terms of reference including the investigation of the causes of the Moplah riots, the extent of alleged outrages committed by the rioters, with particular reference to forcible conversions of Hindus and the desecration of their temples, the means of prevention and the measures taken by the Government to suppress the riots."

VIII. On the motion of Lala Lajpat Rai the Grants Sub-Committee was dissolved and all applications for grants were directed to be laid before the Working Committee. *

IX. With reference to the application by Mr. Phukan of Assam, resolved that a sum of Rs. 25,000 be voted as a grant, and a sum of Rs. 25,000 be advanced as a loan to the Assam Provincial Committee for the purchase of cotton to be used in the manufacture of handspun yarn and khaddar.

* The resolutions of the Grants Sub-Committee are given below, from page 133 to 136, after the proceedings of this meeting of the Working Committee

X. A sum of Rs. 5,000 be granted to the Krishnashram, Guntur District, Andhra.

XI. With reference to the application, dated the 27th October from the Andhra Jateeya Kalashala for a further grant, resolved that a sum of Rs. 10,000 be voted as an additional grant to the Kalashala.

XII. With reference to the application of the Rajahmundry Depressed Classes Mission of the 30th October, resolved that a grant of Rs. 1,000 be voted.

XIII. With reference to the application dated 20th September 1921 of the Angalur Jateeya Parishramalayam, resolved that a sum of Rs. 5,000 be voted as a grant.

On applications by Sjt. Konda Venkatappayya, resolved that—

XIV. a sum of Rs. 3,000 be granted to Kautaram, Andhra, and that

XV. a sum of Rs. 15,000 be voted as a grant to the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee for general Swadeshi work.

XVI. With reference to the application dated the 6th October of the Masulipatam District Congress Committee, resolved that a sum of Rs. 3,000 be granted.

XVII. That Rs. 30,000 be voted as a grant to the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee earmarked for the manufacture of handspun yarn and khaddar to be distributed among the Cuttack, Puri and Balasore Districts in such proportion as the Provincial Committee may determine.

XVIII. With reference to the application dated October 18, 1921, of the Thana District Congress Committee for a grant of Rs. 3,000 to help the toddy tappers, who wanted to give up their profession, in the district, resolved that the application be granted, the District Congress Committee being requested to use the money as far as possible for the manufacture of yarn and khaddar.

XIX. With reference to the application dated October 25 of the Nagpur Tilak Vidyalaya, resolved that a sum of Rs. 5,000 be granted to the C. P. (Marathi) Provincial Congress Committee as earmarked for the Vidyalaya.

XX. On an application by Seth Jamnalalji, resolved that a sum of Rs. 5,000 be granted to the Nagpur Asahyogashram, through the C. P. (Marathi) Provincial Congress Committee (also earmarked for the purpose).

XXI. With reference to the application dated 11th October, of the Ajmere Provincial Congress Committee, resolved that a sum of Rs. 25,000 be voted to the Provincial Congress Committee for the purpose of increasing the production of khaddar and charkha yarn.

[Pandit Motilal Nehru made an oral application for a sum of Rs. 2,50,000 to be reserved for the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee for a scheme of developing handspinning and handweaving in a selected district, to make it self-contained with a view to undertake Civil Disobedience. He mentioned Azamgarh as specially suited for the purpose. Seth Jamnalal

proposed that a sum of Rs. 10,00,000 be reserved for that purpose for all the provinces without specifying any particular province. The motion was not put to the vote. Mahatma Gandhi observing that U. P. would be kept in view in considering the grant to Gujarat and the disposal of the balance left in hand.]

XXII. The application of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee dated October 25 was then taken up, and on Mahatma Gandhi explaining the position, it was resolved that the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee be recommended to grant the full amount of Rs. 18,00,000, if possible, and, in any case, to earmark at least Rs. 10,00,000, for Gujarat.

XXIII. That in terms of resolution No. 5 of the Grants Sub-Committee Rs. 40,000 be paid to Sjt. Rajagopalachariar to be immediately remitted to Kerala for the relief of the distressed in Malabar.

XXIV. The letter dated 19th October, of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee asking for a sanction by the Working Committee for the mutual arrangement between the Congress and Khilafat organisations to divide Muthia, Chutki and Khaliani collections between the two and also referring the matter of the Hathras collection for the Tilak Swaraj Fund to the Committee, be referred to the General Secretary for disposal.

XXV. With reference to a point raised by Sjt. Das, resolved that having carefully considered the Congress Constitution the Working Committee is of opinion that the All-India Congress Committee elected

in November will be the Subjects Committee for the forthcoming Congress.

XXVI. That the next meeting of the Working Committee be held at Patidar Boarding House at Surat on the 22nd November at 8 a. m.

XXVII. On a point raised by the General Secretary, resolved that in view of the grant of Rs. 50,000 already made by the Working Committee for the relief of the distressed in Malabar, the Committee cannot authorise the Provincial Committees to make any further grants out of their Swaraj Fund Collections for that purpose. The Committee has, however, no objection to the Provincial Committees making fresh collections earmarked for the relief of the distressed in Malabar.

The following resolutions relating to grants were passed by the Grants Sub-Committee in the course of several meetings. The Sub-Committee was formed by resolution No. 18 of the Working Committee dated the 31st July 1921. It was dissolved by resolution No. 8 dated the 6th November 1921.

I. With reference to the application for grant and loan from the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, (for Swadeshi work), resolved that a sum of Rs. 1 lac be voted as a grant from the funds in the possession of the All India Congress Committee, and that a loan of Rs 4 lacs be recommended to be given by the Trustees appointed by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to control and disburse the special collection made in Bombay on behalf of the All India Tilak Swarajya Fund. The Bihar Provincial Congress Committee be advised that out of the grant of Rs. 1 lac, a sum of Rs. 20,000 should be given to Babu Rām Vinod in connection with the introduction of hand-spinning and hand-weaving and manufacture of khaddar. The whole sum to be disbursed under the control and supervision of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee.

II. With reference to the application for grant and loan from the C P. (Hindustani) Provincial Congress Committee for Swadeshi work, resolved that a loan of Rs. 35,000 be voted to the said Committee, the loan being

repayable on or before the 30th of April 1922, the money to be paid after the Provincial Congress Committee have exhausted the funds in their possession, and that the question of grant would be considered by the sub-committee after examining the work done by the Provincial Congress Committee.

III. With reference to the application for grant for famine relief from the U P Provincial Congress Committee, resolved that a sum of Rs 25,000 be voted for famine relief in the said province, the money to be paid as required from time to time and the relief be distributed with a view to advancing Swadeshi

IV. With reference to the application for grant from the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee for famine relief, and the Jagraon School, resolved that a further grant of Rs 25,000 be voted for relief of famine in the Punjab with special instructions that so far as possible, the sum be expended for popularising spinning and weaving among the famine stricken, and that a sum of Rs. 10,000 be granted for the national school at Jagraon subject to the condition that hand-spinning and hand weaving be made compulsory in that school, and also subject to the condition that a minimum quantity of yarn or khaddar be produced by every scholar so that the school may be progressively self-supporting, the said grant shall be disbursed under the supervision and control of the Provincial Congress Committee.

V. With reference to the telegraphic application from Srijut Rajagopalachariar for the relief of the distressed in Malabar, resolved that for relief of the distressed in the disturbed area of Malabar, Mahatmaji be authorised to sanction a grant not exceeding Rs. 50,000 after investigation on the spot as a special case notwithstanding the non-receipt of the 25 % due to the All India Congress Committee.

VI. With reference to the application for grant from the Gandhi Ashram, Benares City, resolved that a sum of Rs. 15,000 be voted as a grant to that institution

VII. With reference to the application for grant from the Pallipadu Ashram, resolved that a sum of Rs. 10,000 be granted subject to the conditions laid down in the instructions issued by the sub-committee.

VIII. With reference to the application for grant from the Andhra Jatheeya Kalashala, Masulipatam, resolved that a grant of Rs. 15,000 be voted provided the application comes through the Provincial Congress Committee and provided the province makes full payment of 25% due to the All India Congress Committee.

IX. With reference to the application for grant from the Secretary, Taluka Congress Committee, Karjat, (Maharashtra), resolved that the

Provincial Congress Committee should try to secure the sum of Rs 10,000 from the Sholapur Committee and on failure should draw upon the All India Congress Committee up to the said amount

X. With reference to the application for grant from the Anatha Vidyarthi Griha, Chinchwad (Maharashtra), resolved that a sum of Rs 10,000 be voted as a grant subject to the conditions laid down in the instructions issued by the sub committee

XI. With reference to the application of Messrs Dhakres and Padhya for a grant to start spinning and weaving in Ratnagiri District (Maharashtra), resolved that the complaints against the two above named gentlemen forwarded with the letter of Mr N C. Kelkar of the 24th August, be referred back to Mr Kelkar with a request to investigate them and to let the Committee know if he still recommends the application.

XII The application of Sriyut C Harisarvottam Rao, Secretary, Provincial Congress Committee, Andhra, and Tilak Rashtriya Vidyalaya, Nasik were rejected as vague, unbacked, and not in accordance with the instructions issued by the sub committee

XIII The application of (1) Mr K G Patade, Assistant General Secretary of the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India, (2) of the Kulladaikurichi National School, Vidyasangam and (3) of the Rajahmundry Depressed Classes Mission were rejected as unbacked and not in accordance with the instructions issued by the sub committee

XIV With reference to the application of Sriyut C Sitaram Sastry, General Secretary, Provincial Congress Committee, Guntur, for a grant for the National College, Ellore, resolved that the applicant be requested to comply with the instructions issued by the Grants Sub-Committee.

XV. The application of the President, U P Provincial Branch of the All India Sub-Assistant Surgeon's Association, Meerut, for a grant to start a medical college was rejected as outside the scope of the Congress

XVI. The application of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee for a grant for Swadeshi work was rejected as vague It was explained personally to Mr Dastane that it was necessary to recast the application with due attention to the instructions issued by the sub committee. He was also requested to report on the District Committee finances.

XVII With reference to the application of the Chairman, Municipal Council, Rajahmundry, resolved that the applicant should be informed that no grant can be made out of Godrej funds and that an application for grant from the general funds may be made through the Provincial Congress Committee

XVIII The application for grant from the George Middle School, Kulladaikurichi, was rejected as unbacked and not in accordance with the instructions issued by the sub committee.

XIX The applications of the Secretary, Machilipatnam Congress Committee and Shri Krishna Ashram, Padapalem, were rejected as not being in accordance with the instructions issued by the sub-committee.

XX. That Rs. 10,000 be granted to the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee to be principally spent on Swadeshi and the popularising of hand-spinning and hand weaving

XXI That Mahatmaji having in terms of resolution No. 5 of the Grants Sub Committee sanctioned Rs 10,000 for the relief of the distressed in Malabar the said amount be adjusted with the Madras Provincial Congress Committee who have already paid it.

XXII That a grant of Rs 60,000, be made to the Madras Provincial Congress Committee

XXIII. That a sum of Rs. 1,50,000 be set apart for the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee, and that Rs. 50,000 out of this sum be paid to the said Committee from time to time on their satisfying the General Secretary as to the proper application of the money, and that the matter be again laid before the Sub-Committee when any grant over and above the said sum of Rs 50,000 is asked for

XXIV. That out of the sum of Rs. 63,000 applied for by the Sindh Provincial Congress Committee, Rs. 30,000 be paid to the said Committee and the matter be again brought up before the Grants Sub-Committee after the said amount of Rs. 30,000 has been duly spent and accounted for and a further grant is asked

XXV. That Rs. 25,000 be sanctioned for famine relief in the Ceded Districts in Andhra and that out of this sum Rs. 10,000 be paid for the present to Syt. Konda Venkatappayya to be applied to the said purpose under the supervision of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee.

XXVI. That Rs. 20,000 be granted for the present to the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee and that the question of further grants be considered later when this sum nas been duly spent and accounted for.

XXVII. That Rs. 20,000 be granted to the Ganjam District Congress Committee for Swadeshi and for popularising hand-spinning and hand-weaving to be spent under the supervision of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee,

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee held at Bombay on the 22nd and 23rd November 1921.

[As announced at Delhi the Committee was to have met at Surat on the 22nd November, but owing to the unexpected and serious disturbances at Bombay on the 17th and the following few days, Mahatma Gandhi found it impossible to leave Bombay, and at his request the Working Committee met there on the 22nd and 23rd November 1921.]

I. This Committee deplores the tragic occurrences during the past few days in Bombay resulting in racial strife and ending in loss of life and property. In the opinion of this Committee occurrences such as these cannot but retard the progress of the country towards its triple goal, and the Committee wishes in this connection to emphasise the fact that a non-violent atmosphere is essential for the attainment of the country's goal.

Whilst by reason of these tragic occurrences this Committee recognises the necessity of caution it sees no cause for discouragement, but is of opinion that the after-events give the greatest cause for satisfaction and congratulation, in that Co-operators, Non-Co-operators, Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis and Christians without being demoralised by them, set about regaining control over the turbulent elements and were successful in bringing about peace without resort to any Government assistance whatsoever.

This Committee notes, in the quick and voluntary restoration of peace, the great advance the nation

has made in the practice of non-violence and responding to its natural leaders. This Committee invites Congress workers to use the occurrences as an indication of the weak spot in the national organisation, and urges upon all Congress and Khilafat organisations the necessity of obtaining control over all turbulent elements in society.

This Committee congratulates the citizens of Bombay upon their having regained the confidence and control of the population and also congratulates the nation upon the bravery of the volunteers and other Non-Co-operators who lost their lives or were injured whilst trying to prevent collision between rival factions.

This Committee tenders its sympathy to the bereaved and the injured and ventures to ask them to regard their sorrows as the common lot of nations striving for self-realisation.

This Committee is further of opinion that all volunteer organisations should be so formed as to become responsible for the retention of a peaceful atmosphere within their respective jurisdictions and that only such volunteers should be enlisted and retained as are known to be pledged to the strictest observance of non-violence.

This Committee desires to warn all Provincial Congress Committees against embarking upon mass civil disobedience without first making certain of a peaceful atmosphere being retained throughout the

province concerned, it being in the opinion of the Committee essential for the successful working of civil disobedience that whilst it is in action in one part of India the rest responds by remaining non-violent.

[Thereafter there was some discussion on the policy of the Congress towards the Native States and it was the sense of the meeting that it was not desirable at this stage to enunciate any such policy.]

II. Whilst this Committee considers it desirable that in the affairs of the Congress and in the publication of Congress circulars and reports, as far as possible, only Hindustani in both Devanagri and Urdu scripts should be used and that all proceedings should be conducted in Hindustani, the Committee considers it premature to set down any hard and fast rules imposing Hindustani on members of various Congress organisations.

The Committee is however emphatically of opinion that all provincial proceedings should be conducted and provincial publications should be printed in the vernaculars of the respective provinces.

III. The following grants were voted:—

(*i*) Rs. 10,000 to the Jat Anglo Sanskrit High School, Rohtak, Punjab.

(*ii*) Rs. 25,000 to the Bijapur District Congress Committee for famine relief and Swadeshi work.

(*iii*) Rs. 30,000 to help the dismissed mill-labourers of Madras by giving them Swadeshi work.

IV. Resolved that no further grants be made out of the funds at the disposal of the All India Committee.

V. This Committee considers it of national importance that all Non-co-operation volunteer corps, Khilafat volunteer corps and other non-official volunteer bodies, should be brought under central control and named National Volunteer Corps, and therefore advises the Provincial Congress Committees to appoint central boards in their respective provinces for controlling and bringing under uniform discipline all the existing Volunteer Corps and commends to their attention the following draft general instructions, and further requests the Central Khilafat Committee, the Khalsa Committee and other bodies, if they approve of the recommendations of this Committee, to pass the necessary resolutions to give effect to them.

Draft general instructions for Volunteer Organisations.

Every volunteer should sign the following pledge in triplicate. One copy shall be given to the volunteer, one sent to the central office in every province and one kept in the district in which the volunteer is enlisted.

The pledge shall be written in the language of the province in which the volunteer is resident, as also in Hindustani in Urdu and Devanagri scripts. So far as possible for the uniform of volunteers imitation of military uniform shall be avoided. Volunteers shall not carry any sword with them but may carry an ordinary walking stick not longer than four feet.

The lowest unit shall consist of twenty people, of whom one shall be a leader elected by the members of a particular unit.

Twenty such leaders shall elect from among themselves an officer. All other officers shall be appointed by the central provincial office which shall consist of a board of five who will elect their own chairman. All subordinate officers shall implicitly obey instructions issued from time to time by the board. The duties of volunteers shall be to preserve order, to regulate meetings, hartals, and processions, and to render social service in emergencies in accordance with instructions given to them. No volunteer shall be enlisted who is known to be a bad character. The Central Board shall be under the control of and appointed by the Provincial Congress Committees. Khilafat volunteers should also form part of the national volunteers and be subject to the control of the Central Provincial Board. No one under eighteen shall be enlisted as volunteer.

The Pledge.

So long as I remain in any volunteer organisation I shall faithfully and diligently carry out all the instructions received from my superiors. I shall observe the pledge of non-violence in word and in deed, and shall inculcate the spirit of non-violence amongst others. I shall regard the pledge as binding upon me so long as the policy of non-violence is continued by the nation I shall run all risks attendant upon the performance of my duty.

VI. The next meeting of the Working Committee be held at Ahmedabad on the 23rd December.

VII. The next meeting of the All India Committee be held at Ahmedabad on the 24th December.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Ahmedabad on the 23rd, 26th, 29th and 30th December, 1921.

[Representatives of the different provinces were requested to be present to help the Committee in its deliberations. The

Committee discussed and finally settled the resolutions that were to be placed on its behalf before the meeting of the Subjects Committee on the 24th December.

When the letter of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, asking the Working Committee to decide finally the matter regarding its claim for a share of the balance handed over by the Reception Committee of the Special Session of the Committee held in Bombay, to the old Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, was placed before the Working Committee, Syt. Kelkar offered to compound the matter with the Bombay Committee and the offer was accepted.

All the resolutions given below, except the first, were passed on the 29th and 30th December by the new Working Committee which was appointed on the 28th December.]

I. With reference to the disputes over the elections of delegates in the Amraoti and Byculla districts in the provinces of Berar and Bombay respectively, it was resolved to appoint Babu Rajendra Prasad to go into the cases and to finally dispose of the matters before the beginning of the session of the Congress on the 27th December at 3 p. m.

II. Resolved that the letter dated 21st inst. of the Secetary of the Bombay Suburban District Congress Committee regarding Tilak Swaraj Fund (ornaments) be referred to Mahatma Gandhi for immediate and final disposal.

III. Resolved that the application of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee dated 14th December for doubling the seats for Maharashtra on the All-India Congress Committee be referred back to that Committee for giving further and sounder reasons to substantiate the application.

IV. Regarding the complaint by some members of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee against the last elections by that committee to the All India Congress Committee, it was resolved that the complaint be referred to the Maharashtra Committee with a request to offer its explanation if any.

V. With reference to the application of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee dated 29th December 1921, for a grant and a loan, resolved that the consideration of the application be adjourned to the next meeting of the Working Committee, and in the meanwhile the Andhra Committee be invited to give definite reasons for the application and also be reminded that the Andhra Committee is expected to make every effort to raise fresh subscriptions to meet fresh needs, and similarly every province should in the opinion of the Working Committee, as far as possible, be self-supporting.

VI. The correspondence regarding the Winding-up Committee of the British Congress Committee and newspaper *India* be referred to Syt N. C. Kelkar for final disposal after hearing Dr. Vakil, the representative of the Winding-up Committee now in India.

VII. The Working Secretary be requested to issue fortnightly reports of the Congress work in the country.

VIII. The Working Committee calls upon all the Provincial Congress Committees to substitute the volunteers' pledge adopted at the last session of the

Congress, for the pledge adopted at the meeting of the Working Committee held in Bombay on the 23rd day of November last, and proceed without delay with the further enrolment of all available men and women within their respective provinces of the required age and qualifications; each such pledge to be in triplicate, one copy to be given to the volunteer, one to be filed in the records of the office of enlistment (such offices to be established by the respective Provincial Committees), and one to be sent to the Provincial Congress Committee.

The Working Committee advises that the pledge be translated into the language of the province in which the enlistment takes place and that care be taken to explain its full purport to the intending volunteers. Inasmuch as the object of the Congress in passing the resolution regarding the volunteers was to assert the right of forming such associations in spite of notifications of disbandment of volunteer organisations issued by several local governments, and therefore, as the object was also to get consistently with the requirements of the pledge the largest number of volunteers who would be prepared to suffer imprisonment, the Working Committee advises that there should be two lists, one containing the names of those who are prepared actively to serve the Congress and the other of those who are otherwise employed but are ready to suffer imprisonment, assault, or death, and that the volunteers registered on the reserve list may not be called for any purpose

save that of seeking imprisonment, etc.

The Working Committee advises that great care should be taken to confine enlistment only to men and women of proved character, it being the opinion of the Committee that the success of the cause depends more upon the quality than upon the number enlisted.

The Working Committee advises that pending enlistment of volunteers throughout the different provinces, offensive civil disobedience should not be taken up and in no case before the 15th day of January next.

Offensive civil disobedience means deliberate and wilful breach of the State-made non-moral laws, that is laws the breach of which does not involve moral turpitude, not for the purpose of securing the repeal of or relief from hardships arising from obedience to such laws but for the purpose of diminishing the authority of or overthrowing the State. For example, picketing of liquor shops or shops for the sale of intoxicating drugs, although prohibited, has not for its object the overthrow of the State and therefore, does not fall within this definition.

The Working Committee advises the Provincial Congress Committees to send from time to time, and at least once a week, a report of progress made, in enlistment, to the Working Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee.

The Working Committee advises that the names of the volunteers enlisted be sent for publication to the press from time to time.

AHMEDABAD SESSION 1921.

The 36th ordinary session of the Indian National Congress was held at Ahmedabad on 27th and 28th December 1921. Syt. Vallabbhai J. Patel was the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Deshbandhu C. R. Das, the President-elect of the Congress, being then an undertrial prisoner, Hakim Ajmal Khan was elected to act as President in place of Deshbandhu C. R. Das.

AHMEDABAD SESSION 1921.

The following resolutions were passed at the 36th ordinary session of the Indian National Congress.

Re-affirming Non-co-operation resolution.

Whereas since the holding of the last National Congress the people of India have found from actual experience that by reason of the adoption of non-violent non-co-operation the country has made great advance in fearlessness, self-sacrifice and self-respect, and whereas the movement has greatly damaged the prestige of the Government, and whereas on the whole the country is rapidly progressing towards Swaraj, this Congress confirms the resolution adopted at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta and re-affirmed at Nagpur, and places on record the fixed determination of the Congress to continue the programme of non-violent non-co-operation with greater vigour than hitherto in such manner as each province may determine, till the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs are redressed and Swaraj is established and the control of the Government of India passes into the hands of the people from that of an irresponsible corporation.

Concentrating on Volunteering.

And whereas by reason of the threat uttered by His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent speeches, and the consequent repression started by the Government of India in

the various provinces by way of disbandment of Volunteer Corps, and forcible prohibition of public and even committee meetings in an illegal and high-handed manner, and by the arrest of many Congress workers in several provinces, and whereas this repression is manifestly intended to stifle all Congress and Khilafat activities and deprive the public of their assistance, this Congress resolves that all activities of the Congress be suspended as far as necessary and appeals to all, quietly and without any demonstration to offer themselves for arrest by belonging to the volunteer organisations to be formed throughout the country in terms of the resolution of the Working Committee arrived at in Bombay on the 23rd day of November last, provided that no one shall be accepted as volunteer who does not sign the following pledge:—

THE PLEDGE.

With God as witness I solemnly declare that,

(1) I wish to be a member of the National Volunteer Corps.

(2) So long as I remain a member of the Corps I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent in intent since I believe that as India is circumstanced non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swaraj and consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India whether Hindu, Musalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jew.

(3) I believe in and shall endeavour always to promote such unity.

(4) I believe in Swadeshi as essential for India's economic, political and moral salvation, and shall use handspun and handwoven khaddar to the exclusion of every other cloth.

(5) As a Hindu I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability and shall on all possible

occasions seek personal contact with and endeavour to render service to the submerged classes.

(6) I shall carry out the instructions of any superior officers, and all the regulations, not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge prescribed by the Volunteer Board or the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress.

(7) I am prepared to suffer imprisonment, assault, or even death for the sake of my religion and my country without resentment.

(8) In the event of my imprisonment I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my family or dependents.

This Congress trusts that every person of the age of 18 and over will immediately join the volunteer organisations.

Meetings to continue.

II. Notwithstanding the proclamations prohibiting public meetings, and inasmuch as even committee meetings have been attempted to be construed as public meetings, this Congress advises the holding of committee meetings, and of public meetings, the latter in enclosed places and by tickets and by previous announcements at which, as far as possible, only speakers previously announced shall deliver written speeches, care being taken in every case to avoid risk of provocation and possible violence by the public in consequence.

Organizing individual civil disobedience

III. This Congress is further of opinion that civil disobedience is the only civilized and effective substitute for an armed rebellion whenever every other remedy for preventing arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of authority by individuals or corporations has been tried, and therefore advises all Con-

gress workers and others who believe in peaceful methods and are convinced that there is no remedy save some kind of sacrifice, to dislodge the existing government from its position of perfect irresponsibility to the people of India, to organise individual civil disobedience and mass civil disobedience when the mass of people have been sufficiently trained in the methods of non-violence and otherwise in terms of the resolution thereon of the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Delhi.

This Congress is of opinion that in order to concentrate attention upon civil disobedience, whether mass or individual, whether of an offensive or defensive character, under proper safeguards and under instructions to be issued from time to time by the Working Committee or the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, all other Congress activities should be suspended whenever and wherever, and to the extent to which, it may be found necessary.

This Congress calls upon all students of the age of 18 and over, particularly those studying in the national institutions and the staff thereof immediately to sign the foregoing pledge and become members of National Volunteer Corps.

Mahatma Gandhi appointed sole executive authority.

IV. In view of the impending arrest of a large number of Congress workers, this Congress whilst requiring the ordinary machinery to remain intact and to be utilised in the ordinary manner whenever feasible, hereby appoints, until further instructions,

Mahatma Gandhi as the sole executive authority of the Congress and invests him with the full powers of the All-India Congress Committee including the power to convene a special session of the Congress or of the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee, such powers to be exercised between any two sessions of the All-India Congress Committee, and also with the power to appoint a successor in emergency.

This Congress hereby confers upon the said successor and all subsequent successors appointed in turn by their predecessors all his aforesaid powers.

Congress alone to conclude peace or to change Article I of the Constitution.

Provided that nothing in this resolution shall be deemed to authorise Mahatma Gandhi or any of the aforesaid successors to conclude any terms of peace with the Government of India or the British Government without the previous sanction of the All-India Congress Committee to be finally ratified by the Congress specially convened for the purpose, and provided also that the first article of the Congress constitution shall in no case be altered by Mahatma Gandhi or his successors except with the leave of the Congress first obtained.

Congratulations to sufferers.

V. This Congress congratulates all those patriots who are now undergoing imprisonment for the sake of their conscience or country and realises that their sacrifice has considerably hastened the advent of Swaraj.

Inter-communal unity, Khaddar and untouchability.

VI. This Congress appeals to all those who do not believe in full non-co-operation or in the principle of non-co-operation, but who consider it essential for the sake of national self-respect to demand and insist upon the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, and for the sake of full national self-expression, to insist upon the immediate establishment of Swaraj, to render full assistance to the nation in the promotion of unity between different religious communities, to popularise carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving from its economical aspect and as a cottage industry necessary in order to supplement the resources of millions of agriculturists who are living on the brink of starvation, and to that end preach and practise the use of hand-spun and hand-woven garments, to help the cause of total prohibition, and if Hindus, to bring about removal of untouchability, and to help the improvement of the condition of the submerged classes.

The Moplah disturbances.

VII. This Congress expresses its firm conviction that the Moplah disturbance was not due to the Non-co-operation or the Khilafat movement, especially as the Non-co-operators and the Khilafat preachers were denied opportunity of carrying on effective propaganda of non-violence in the affected parts by the district authorities for six months before the disturbance, but is due to causes wholly unconnected with the two movements, and that the outbreak would not

have occurred had the message of non-violence been allowed to reach them. Nevertheless this Congress deplores the acts done by certain Moplahs by way of forcible conversions and destruction of life and property and is of opinion that the prolongation of the disturbance in Malabar could have been prevented by the Government of Madras accepting the preferred assistance of Maulana Yakub Hassan and other non-co-operators and allowing Mahatma Gandhi to proceed to Malabar, and is further of opinion that the treatment of Moplah prisoners as evidenced by the asphyxiation incident was an act of inhumanity unheard of in modern times and unworthy of a Government that calls itself civilised.

Congratulations to Kemal Pasha and the Turks.

VIII. This Congress congratulates Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Turks upon their successes and assures the Turkish nation of India's sympathy and support in its struggle to retain its status and independence.

The Bombay disturbances.

IX. This Congress deplores the occurrences that took place in Bombay on the 17th November last and after, and assures all parties and communities that it has been and is the desire and determination of the Congress to guard their rights to the fullest extent.

Baba Guruditsingh.

X. This Congress heartily congratulates Shreeman Baba Guruditsinghji, the great organiser of Sri Guru Nanak Steamer who willingly surrendered himself after seven years'

fruitless search by the Government as a sacrifice for the nation, and also congratulates the other Sikh leaders who have preferred imprisonment to the restriction of their religious rights and liberty, and congratulates the Sikh community on their non-violent spirit at the time of the Babaji's arrest and on other occasions in spite of great provocation by the police and the military.

CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION

XI. The following changes be introduced in the Constitution :—

1. In Article IV instead of "the age of 21" read "the age of 18."

2. At the end of Article VII add "provided that no person shall become a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time."

3. At the end of clause 3 Art. VIII add "the members of the All-India Congress Committee shall be ex-officio delegates to the Congress, the Provincial Congress Committees deducting the number of elected and, if any, the ex-officio members of the All-India Congress Committee in their province, from the number of delegates they are entitled to return."

4. In clause 5 Art. VIII remove the brackets and after "a single transferable vote" add "or by any other method."

5. In clause 2 of Art. XIX after "shall be" add "the elected president."

6. In the same clause after "past presidents of the Congress" add "if they sign the Congress creed and are members of any Congress Organisation."

7. In Art. XXIII after "the General Secretaries" add "and two Treasurers" and in the beginning of the second sentence instead of the word "they" read "the General Secretaries."

General Secretaries and Acting Secretaries.

XII. This Congress re-appoints Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Ansari and Syt. C. Rajagopalachariar as General Secretaries of the Congress for the year

1922 and as Pandit Motilal Nehru and Syt. Rajagopalachariar are now in jail, appoints Syt. Vithalbhai J. Patel and Dr. Rajan respectively to act for them, the former to be the Working Secretary.

Treasurers.

XIII. This Congress re-appoints Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Seth Chhotani as Treasurers of the Congress, the former to be the Working Treasurer.

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE 1922.

Summary of the proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee meeting held in Delhi on 24th and 25th February 1922.

Hakim Ajmal Khan took the chair. The minutes of the last meeting having been confirmed, Mahatma Gandhi moved his resolution confirming the Bardoli resolutions of the Working Committee*. He began by giving the genesis of the Bardoli resolutions and made it clear that Pandit Malaviyaji had no hand whatever in those resolutions. He asked the members to bear in mind that if they accepted non-violence whether as a creed or a policy, they must also be prepared to accept certain corollaries that followed from it. In the same connection he said that so long as they claimed to be non-violent and so long as they claimed to have the country with them, it was impossible for them to disown responsibility for acts of violence committed out of sympathy for them in any part of India such as those committed in Gorakhpur or at Bombay. He also added that it was open to them to give up non-violence if they considered it unworkable or ineffective. He explained that by the resolution it was not intended to go back upon the Nagpur Non-co-operation resolution in any way. He urged the members to be clear on the point of principle and not over concerned with details.

The resolution under consideration restored provincial autonomy in regard to individual civil disobedience subject to the original restrictions. *Bona fide* and peaceful picketing of foreign cloth shops had also been restored.

Syt. Patel in seconding the resolution said that Mahatmaji in yielding to public opinion had set an example to the unyielding Government. He added that the resolution sanctioned almost all the activities carried on by the Congress workers before the Bardoli resolution. Individual civil disobedience of either an offensive or defensive character was permitted. So also picketing of foreign cloth shops. He admitted that mass civil disobedience was not sanctioned, but he was of opinion that no one in the country excepting Mahatmaji was in a position to initiate it with any chance of success. He did not therefore very much mind if it was suspended. In his opinion it was impossible to secure the kind of non-violent atmosphere which Mahatmaji required for a long time to come and he did not care if mass civil disobedience was even abandoned.

Dr. Moonje moved an alternative proposition asking for the appointment of a sub-committee to examine the practicability or otherwise of the programme of non-violent non-co-operation with a view to chalk out a practical programme in future. This was seconded by Swami Satyadeva. After considerable discussion, Dr. Moonje's proposal was lost by a very large majority.

Amendments to the Bardoli resolutions of the Working Committee were then considered and voted upon. The following amendments were accepted:—

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*For text of these resolutions see proceedings of Working Committee dated 11th and 12th February 1922 pages 176 to 182 post.

Resolution II:—At end "the said special meeting" be changed to "the next meeting"

Resolution III:—Note (i) to clause (1) as amended to read thus:

"Since peaceful and legitimate means are the essence of the Congress creed, no person should be enlisted who does not believe in such means as indispensible for the attainment of Swaraj. The creed of the Congress must therefore be carefully explained to each person who is appealed to, to join the Congress."

Clause (2) add at end of clause: "and popularise its use by house to house visits."

Clause (3) at end of Note: "to command attendance" changed to "to draw out students from Government and aided schools"

Clause (4) deleted

Clause (6) to be prefaced by the word "Note"

The following resolutions were passed :—

Confirming Bardoli resolution with modifications.

I. The All India Congress Committee having carefully considered the resolutions passed by the Working Committee at its meeting held at Bardoli on the 11th and 12th instant, confirms the said resolutions with the modifications mentioned herein and further resolves that individual civil disobedience whether of a defensive or aggressive character may be commenced in respect of particular places or particular laws at the instance of, and upon permission being granted therefor, by the respective Provincial Committee; provided that such civil disobedience shall not be permitted unless all the conditions laid down by the Congress or the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee are strictly fulfilled,

II. Reports having been received from various quarters that picketing regarding foreign cloth is as necessary as liquor-picketing, the All-India Congress Committee authorises such picketing of a bonafide character on the same terms as liquor picketing mentioned in the Bardoli resolutions.

Picketing.

The All-India Congress Committee wishes it to be understood that the resolution of the Working Committee do not mean any abandonment of the original Congress programme of non-co-operation or permanent abandonment of mass civil disobedience but considers that an atmosphere of necessary mass non-violence can be established by the workers concentrating upon the constructive programme framed by the Working Committee at Bardoli.

The All India Congress Committee holds civil disobedience to be the right and duty of the people to be exercised and performed whenever the State opposes the declared will of the people.

Note.—Individual civil disobedience is disobedience of orders or laws by a single individual or an ascertained number or group of individuals. Therefore a prohibited public meeting, where admission is regulated by tickets and to which no unauthorised admission is allowed, is an instance of individual civil disobedience, whereas a prohibited meeting to which the general public is admitted without any restriction is an instance of mass civil disobedience. Such civil disobedience is defensive when a prohibited public meeting is held for conducting a normal activity although it may result in arrest. It would be aggressive if it is held not for any normal activity but merely for the purpose of courting arrest and imprisonment.

III. The vacancies in the Working Committee caused by Dr. Rajan, Babu Sham Sunder Chakravarti and Sardar

Vacancies in the Working Committee.

Kharak Singh being sent to jail, be filled as follows:—

Syt. T. Prakasam to act for Dr. Rajan as General Secretary; Babu Hardayal Nag to act for Babu Sham Sunder Chakravarti, and Sardar Kharak Singh to act for Aga Safdar Sahab.

Summary of proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee which met at Lucknow on June 7th, 8th, and 9th, 1922.

Hakim Ajmal Khan was in the chair. The Chairman in opening the proceedings reviewed the general political situation and congratulated the country on the preservation of perfect non-violence in spite of the grave provocation due to the arrest and incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi. He laid stress on the necessity for cordial relations between the different communities and parties and appealed for unity.

The following resolutions were passed :—

Acknowledging Mahatma Gandhi's services.

I. The All-India Congress Committee in this its first meeting after the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi places on record his services to the cause of humanity by his message of peace and truth and reiterates its faith in the principle of Non-Violent Non-Co-operation inaugurated by him for the enforcement of the rights of the people of India.

Vacancies in the Working Committee.

II. Syts. Sen Gupta, Prakasam and Dunichand are elected to the Working Committee in place of Mahatma Gandhi, Deshbhakta K. Venkatappayya and Sardar Kharak Singh respectively.

Provincial Quotas.

III. This Committee approves of the Working Committee's recommendation that Provincial Contributions to the All India Congress

Committee, out of donations subscribed and collected during this year, be reduced from 25% to 5%.

The Depressed Classes.

IV. This Committee hereby appoints a Committee consisting of Swami Shradhanand, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Messrs. G. B. Deshpande and I. K. Yajnik to formulate a scheme embodying practical measures to be adopted for bettering the condition of the so called "Untouchables" throughout the country, and place it for consideration before the next meeting of the Working Committee. The amount to be raised for the scheme should be 5 lacs for the present.

At this stage the House went into Committee to consider the general political situation in the country.

Syts. S K. Som, Santanam, H. N Misra, Sen Gupta and Sunderlal spoke on behalf of Bengal, the Punjab, the U P., Assam and the C. P. (Hindustani) respectively

The Committee then adjourned.

On the Committee reassembling on June 8th, the Chairman welcomed on behalf of the Committee and himself Pt. Motilal Nehru who arrived at Lucknow on his release from Naini Tal jail. The President then announced that Pt Motilal Nehru took up the duties of General Secretary

Pt. Motilal Nehru referred to the question of keeping out press representatives. After taking the sense of the house the following resolution was passed —

Resolved that press representatives be admitted on condition that they agree that their reports should be submitted to one of the General Secretaries for approval before being published.

At this stage the House resumed sitting. Pandit Motilal Nehru moved the Working Committee's resolution which was seconded by Dr. Ansari. The resolution ran as follows —

Whereas repression in a most severe form has been resorted to by the Government in several parts of the country in spite of the suspension of all aggressive activities, this Committee is of opinion

(1) that civil disobedience will have to be undertaken to enable the country to enforce its demands and it accordingly calls upon Provincial Committees to make greater efforts in working the constructive programme till the 30th September 1922, when the situation will be considered by this Committee and the question of launching civil disobedience will be finally determined.

(2) that the President be requested to nominate and authorise a few gentlemen to tour round the country and report on the situation by the 15th September 1922.

Note.—The above resolution does not affect the power given to the provinces by the resolution passed at Delhi on the 25th February 1922.

The proposition of Pt. Motilal Nehru, amended as follows by Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, was carried.—

Appointment of Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee.

V. This Committee records its satisfaction that although, in spite of the suspension of all aggressive activities by the Congress Committees, repression in a most severe form has been resorted to by the Government in several parts of the country, the spirit of the Congress workers has not been daunted and the constructive programme laid down by the Committee is being loyally carried out at great sacrifice in every province.

The Committee has taken note of the wide-spread feeling that in view of the extremely unfair manner in which the policy of repression is being carried out by the Government the country should be advised to resort to some form of civil disobedience to compel the Government to abandon their persent policy and to agree to concede the triple demand of the Congress. But the Committee is of opinion that the carrying out of the constructive programme will be the best preparation for even mass civil disobedience while it will also be the most effective means of furthering the objects of the Congress. The Committee therefore earnestly appeals to the country to concentrate all its efforts upon carrying out the constructive programme to the fullest extent and to endeavour to complete it within the shortest period possible.

That the further consideration of the question whether civil disobedience in some form or some other measure of a similar character should be adopted, should be taken up at the next meeting of the Committee to be held at Calcutta on the 15th of August next.

That in the meantime the President be requested to nominate and authorise a few gentlemen to tour round the country and report on the situation to the next meeting.

Note:—This resolution does not in any way affect the resolution passed at Delhi on the 25th February last.

The President, Hakim Ajmal Khan, in consultation with the members of the Working Committee, nominated himself and the following gentlemen on the Committee to tour round the country and report on the situation —

Pandit Motilal Nehru.
Dr. M. A. Ansari.
Syt. V. J. Patel
Seth. Jamnalal Bajaj.
Syt. C. Rajagopalachari.
Seth M. M. H. J. M. Chhotani

Hakim Ajmal Khan being the Acting President of the Congress was the exofficio chairman of the Committee.

Seth. Jamnalal could not accept the offer owing to his preoccupation with the all India khaddar work scheme. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was asked to take his place but owing to ill-health she was prevented from doing so. The Chairman then invited Syt. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar who kindly agreed and joined the Committee at Jubbulpore. Seth. Chhotani was unable to join in the tour or take part in the meetings of the Committee.

Resolutions passed by the All India Congress Committee on 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd and 24th November 1922, at Calcutta.

Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee's Report.

I. This Committee accepts the report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee on the question of civil disobedience, and resolves (a) that

the country is not prepared at present to embark upon general mass civil disobedience, but in view of the fact that a situation may arise in any part of the country demanding an immediate resort to mass civil disobedience of a limited character, for which the people are ready *e. g.* the breaking of a particular law or order, or the non payment of a particular tax, this Committee authorises Provincial Committees to sanction such limited mass civil disobedience on their own responsibility if the conditions laid down for mass civil disobedience by this Committee in its resolution No. 2 dated the 4th November 1921 are fulfilled; (b) that resolution No. 2 passed by this Committee at Delhi on the 4th November which gives Provincial Committees all the powers necessary to determine upon a resort to civil disobedience of any kind whatever be restored, and resolution 1 clause 1 passed on the 24th February to the extent it conflicts with that resolution be cancelled: provided that general mass civil disobedience is not permissible.

Council entry.

II. That the further consideration of the question whether Congressmen should or should not contest the next elections be adjourned and the same be taken up at the Gaya Congress.

Working Committee's resolutions.

III. That the consideration of the Working Committees draft resolutions Nos. IV to IX dated 18th, 19th and 25th November 1922 be adjourned and the same be taken up at the Gaya Congress.

IV. The All India Congress Committee congratulates the Turkish Nation on their recent victories and further records its emphatic opinion that unless the demands of the Angora Government are satisfied in regard to the restitution of the Turks to full and unhampered freedom in their homelands in Asia and Europe, and unless the *jazirat-ul-Arab* are freed from all non-Moslem control, there can not be peace and contentment in India.

Congratulations to the Turks.

V. This Committee places on record its grateful appreciation of the services rendered to the nation during the critical juncture in its affairs by the members of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee who have discharged their duties with devotion, with untiring energy and at a sacrifice hard to appraise.

Thanks to the C. D. E. Committee.

VI. Resolved that the General Secretary be requested to authorise the Natal Indian Congress to send delegates to the Congress to be held at Gaya in anticipation of affiliation.

Delegates from Natal.

WORKING COMMITTEE, 1922.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Bombay on the 17th January, 1922.

I. Resolved that the letter dated 14-1-22 of the General Secretary of the 2nd All-India College Students' Conference, forwarding a copy of resolution No. 4 passed by that conference requesting the All-India Congress Committee to modify the civil disobedience resolution of the Congress regarding students so as to permit all College students irrespective of age to take part in the programme of civil disobedience, be filed, as the Working Committee was not competent to modify a Congress resolution.

II. Resolved that the letter dated 10-1-22 of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee asking for the sum of Rs. 50,000 already sanctioned by the Grants Sub-committee as a grant to the said Committee, as also the letter dated 17-12-21 of the same Committee, asking for a further grant of one lakh of rupees for Swadeshi work, be referred to Mahatma Gandhi for final disposal.

III. With reference to Dr. Moonje's letter of the 16th inst. suggesting the holding of an emergency meeting of the All-India Congress Committee on or about the 23rd of this month, the Committee was of opinion that there was no present necessity to have a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee,

IV. The Working Committee places on record its thanks to Pandit Malaviyaji and his fellow conveners for convening the conference of persons belonging to the various political parties in the country, for the purpose of considering the existing tension and having considered the resolutions of the conference the Committee resolves that the offensive civil disobedience contemplated by the Ahmedabad Congress be not started till the 31st day of January 1922 or pending the result of the negotiations undertaken by the Committee of the Malaviya Conference for a Round Table Conference, whichever may be the first date.

The Working Committee considers it necessary, for the purpose of creating an atmosphere favourable for a successful Round Table Conference, that

(a) All notifications and notices declaring illegal and prohibiting the formation of volunteer corps, public meetings, picketing and the normal activities of the Congress or the Khilafat Committees be withdrawn and the prisoners undergoing prosecution or conviction in respect of such notices be discharged or released as the case may be.

(b) All Fatwa prisoners including the Ali Brothers and their companions be released.

(c) All other prisoners already convicted or under-trial for non-violent or other innocent activities be dealt with and discharged in the manner appointed therefor in the resolution of the Conference, and

(d) That simultaneously with the performance of the foregoing acts by the Governments concerned

and in the event of a Round Table Conference being called and pending such conference, all *hartals*, picketing and civil disobedience should cease.

In order to avoid any misunderstanding about the Congress demands the Working Committee desires to draw the attention of the Committee appointed by the Malaviya conference to the Khilafat, the Punjab and the Swaraj claims, as stated publicly from time to time from Congress platforms, and to state that therefore the Congress and the Khilafat representatives will be bound to demand full settlement of the three claims.

V. Resolved that a sum not exceeding Rs. 84,000 be sanctioned as a grant for the relief of the refugees from the area of distress in Malabar, the money to be paid to the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee in such instalments as may be determined by Mahatma Gandhi from time to time.

Resolved further that the Kerala Committee be instructed that no ablebodied person should be supported out of the relief fund without some sort of work being taken from him and that hand-spinning and hand-weaving should be the chief occupation to be spread among the refugees.

Resolved also that the Kerala Relief Committee formed by Syt. C. Rajagopalachariar be recommended to add Syt. Mathuradas Purushottam as a member of the Committee and that the Committee be instructed to forward monthly reports of its work.

VI. Resolved that the complaint against the election to the All-India Congress Committee held by the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee in November last, and the Maharashtra Committee's explanation thereon, be referred to Syt. Koujalgi for report or final disposal at his discretion.

VII. Resolved that the consideration of (1) the letter from the News Service Information Bureau in Berlin forwarded by Dr. Ansari, (2) Dr. Hardikar's scheme of publicity work in America and foreign propaganda in general be adjourned to the next meeting.

VIII. Resolved that the sum of £ 160-11s. 4d. claimed by Mr. Brockway, being the expenses incurred by him in connection with the Information Bureau in the United Kingdom, be paid by the General Secretary if he thought proper.

IX. Resolved that the balance out of the Punjab Relief and Martial Law Enquiry Funds be transferred to the All-India Congress Committee funds.

X. Resolved that all the unconsidered applications to the All-India Congress Committee for grants be referred to Seth Jamnalal Bajaj for report at the next meeting of the Working Committee.

XI. Resolved that the Bijapur District Congress Committee may appropriate the whole or part of the sum of Rs. 25,000 granted for famine relief and Swadeshi work to that Committee by the Working Committee, for Swadeshi work alone, subject of course to proper security.

XII. Resolved that the consideration of resolution No. 7 of the Delhi meeting of the All-India Congress Committee regarding the appointment of a Commission to investigate the causes of the Moplah disturbances etc., be postponed *sine die*.

XIII. Resolved that the consideration of the question of the Dissemination of News Sub-committee be adjourned to the next meeting.

XIV. With reference to the question raised in the letter dated 13-1-22 of the Bombay Suburban District Congress Committee regarding the meaning of the word 'use' in clause No. 4 of the Volunteers' pledge adopted at the Ahmedabad session of the Congress, resolved that the word "use" in the 4th item above referred to meant "personal wear", and in the same connection the Committee desired to add that the thread used in sewing need not be handspun.

XV. Resolved that the letter dated 14-1-22 of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, forwarding a copy of the letter of Sjt. P. R. Menon requesting the Bombay Committee to organise the collecting of funds for Malabar relief in Bombay, be filed.

The General Secretary then proposed three resolutions (1) relating to the desirability of the officebearers of all Congress Committees, signing the volunteers' pledge and (2) and (3) embodying the suggestions of the Auditor. The consideration of the proposals was adjourned to the next meeting in view of their importance and the short time at the disposal of the Committee.

XVI. Resolved that Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Seth Chhotani, who have been re-appointed Treasurers of the Congress, in December last, are hereby empowered to operate on or close the accounts already opened in the banks in the name of the All-India

Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund, and to open and operate on the accounts with a bank or banks and a private firm or firms to be selected by them in consultation in the name of the All-India Tilak memorial Swaraj Fund under their signatures either jointly or severally.

And further Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Seth Chhotani are hereby empowered to appoint an attorney or attorneys either jointly or severally from time to time who shall either jointly or severally have exactly the same powers to operate on the All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund accounts as are hereby granted to the said Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Seth Chhotani. Provided, however, that the devolution of any of the above powers does not absolve the Treasurers from any personal responsibility to the Working Committee.

XVII. On a point raised by Seth Jamnalal Bajaj the Working Committee resolved that the transfer of the All-India Congress Committee office from Sabarmati to Bombay is confirmed.

XVIII. The date and place of the next meeting of the Working Committee be determined by Mahatma Gandhi in consultation with the President, Hakim Ajmal Khan.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Surat on 31st January 1922.

I. The Working Committee records its firm conviction that dissemination of correct news about

the Indian political situation in foreign countries is absolutely essential and refers to Mahatma Gandhi all the correspondence on the subject of foreign propaganda, now with the Working Secretary, with a request that he should prepare a definite scheme in that behalf at an early date so as to enable the next meeting of the Working Committee to consider it.

II. The consideration of the question of Dissemination of News Sub-Committee be postponed *sine die.*

III. The Working Committee requests all the Provincial Congress Committees to close their accounts on the 30th September every year and to keep the audited statements of their accounts ready for the inspection of the All India Auditor at any time in November every year. The Committee advises the Provincial Congress Committees to call upon their respective District Committees to close their accounts by the end of August and to prepare their statements in the form A.

IV. The Working Committee asks the Provincial Congress Committees to submit quarterly statements of their receipts and expenditure following pages 2, 3, and 4 (without the Auditor's certificate in the last) of form A for the purpose ; the first quarterly statement for January, February and March—to be submitted before the 15th April next. The Committee advises the Provincial Congress Committees to call for monthly statements of receipts and expenditure from all their District Committees.

V. That the letter dated 18th January 1922 of the President, District Congress Committee, Indore, asking for directions for Congress work be referred to the Ajmer Provincial Congress Committee for report.

VI. That the application of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee for a remittance of Rs. 25,000, the balance out of the sanctioned grant of Rs. 50,000 be referred to Mahatma Gandhi for final disposal.

VII. With reference to the Bengal and Bombay letters of the 23rd and 28th January 1922 respectively, asking for a clear direction in the matter of the commencement of the official year for the Congress organisations, the Working Committee is of opinion that the official year of all Congress organisations for the purposes of membership should be uniform from 1st January to 31st December.

VIII. With reference to the letter dated Jan. 24, 1922 of the Berar P. C. C. forwarding the decision of that Committee to maintain three registers of volunteers (1) for those who sign the pledge at the time of enlistment (2) for those who would sign the pledge when the time of civil disobedience comes and (3) for those who offer themselves to work under resolution II of the Ahmedabad Congress and are ready to go in even for civil disobedience, such volunteers to observe only two conditions: (*a*) to use Swadeshi cloth and (*b*) to accept the principle of non-violence, the Working Committee is of opinion that the 2nd

and 3rd classes mentioned in the letter cannot be recognised as Congress volunteers.

IX. With reference to Dr. Moonje's letter of the 24th January 1922 forwarding a resolution of the Nagpur District Congress Committee sanctioning enlistment of volunteers who sign the pledge with a reservation regarding Swadeshi or untouchability or both, the Committee resolved that the resolution, of the District Congress Committee referred to, is in contravention of the Congress resolution and cannot therefore be allowed to stand.

X. That the non-cooperating lawyers at present receiving allowances from the Bajaj Fund should in the event of that fund being exhausted continue to receive such allowances from the All India Congress Committee fund as may be recommended by Mahatma Gandhi.

XI. The Working Committee having considered the resolution of the Bardoli Taluqa Conference regarding mass civil disobedience desires to congratulate the people of that taluqa upon their self-sacrificing resolve to offer mass civil disobedience and wishes them every success in their patriotic effort. The Working Committee advises all other parts of India to cooperate with the people of Bardoli Taluqa by refraining from mass or individual civil disobedience of an aggresive character except upon the express consent of Mahatma Gandhi previously obtained. Provided that, in no case shall there be any relaxation in the conditions laid down therefor either by the All

India Congress Committee at Delhi or by the Congress at Ahmedabad. Provided further, that this resolution shall in no way be interpreted so as to interfere with the present defensive civil disobedience going on in the country whether in respect of notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment Act or the Seditious Meetings Act, or orders under the ordinary law of the country restricting the liberty of the citizens.

The Working Committee advises the people throughout the provinces to pay up the tax due by them to the Government whether directly or indirectly through Zemindars or Taluqdars except in such cases of direct payment to the Government where previous consent has been obtained from Mahatma Gandhi for suspension of payment preparatory to mass civil disobedience.

XII. That the date and place of the next meeting of the Working Committee be determined by Mahatma Gandhi in consultation with Hakim Ajmal Khan.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Bardoli on 11th and 12th February 1922.

This emergent meeting of the Committee was held to consider the situation created by the Chauri Chaura disturbances in Gorakhpur District.

The following members were present —

Mahatma Gandhi (in the chair)

Seth M. M. H. J. M. Chhotani	Syt. Vithalbhai J. Patel
Seth Jamnalal Bajaj	Syt. N. C. Kelkar

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Messrs. K. Natrajan and M. R. Jayakar specially came down from Bombay and gave the Committee the benefit of their views. After hearing them the Committee deliberated for about three hours and the following resolutions were passed :—

I. The Working Committee deplores the inhuman conduct of the mob at Chauri Chaura in having brutally murdered constables and wantonly burned the police thana and tenders its sympathy to the families of the bereaved.

In view of Nature's repeated warnings every time mass civil disobedience has been imminent some popular violent outburst has taken place indicating that the atmosphere in the country is not non-violent enough for mass civil disobedience, the latest instance being the tragic and terrible events at Chauri Chaura near Gorakhpur, the Working Committee of the Congress resolves that mass civil disobedience contemplated at Bardoli and elsewhere be suspended and instructs the local Congress Committees forthwith to advise the cultivators to pay the land revenue and other taxes due to the Government and whose payment might have been suspended in anticipation of mass civil disobedience, and instructs them to suspend every other preparatory activity of an offensive nature.

The suspension of mass civil disobedience shall be continued till the atmosphere is so non-violent as to ensure the non-repetition of popular atrocities such as at Gorakhpur or hooliganism such as at Bombay and Madras respectively on the 17th November 1921 and 13th January last.

In order to promote a peaceful atmosphere, the Working Committee advises, till further instructions, all Congress organisations to stop activities specially

designed to court arrest and imprisonment, save normal Congress activities including voluntary *hartals*, wherever an absolutely peaceful atmosphere can be assured, and for that end all picketing shall be stopped save for the bona-fide and peaceful purpose of warning the visitors to liquor-shops against the evils of drinking, such picketing to be controlled by persons of known good character and specially selected by the Congress Committees concerned.

The Working Committee advises till further instructions the stoppage of all volunteer processions and public meetings merely for the purpose of defiance of the notification regarding such meetings; this, however, shall not interfere with the private meetings of Congress and other committees or public meetings which are required for the conduct of the normal activities of the Congress.

Complaints having been brought to the notice of the Working Committee that ryots are not paying rents to the zemindars, the Working Committee advises Congress workers and organisations to inform the ryots that such witholding of rents is contrary to the resolutions of the Congress and that it is injurious to the best interests of the country.

The Working Committee assures the zemindars that the Congress movement is in no way intended to attack their legal rights and that even where the ryots have grievances the Committee's desire is that redress should be sought by mutual consultations and by the usual recourse to arbitrations.

Complaints having been brought to the notice of the Working Committee that in the formation of Volunteer Corps great laxity prevails in the selection and, that insistence is not laid on the full use of handspun and handwoven khaddar, and on the full observance by Hindus of the rule as to the removal of untouchability, nor is care being taken to ascertain that the candidates believe fully in the observance of non-violence in intent, word and deed in terms of the Congress resolution, the Working Committee calls upon all Congress organisations to revise their lists and remove from them the names of all such volunteers as do not strictly conform to the requirements of the pledge.

The Working Committee is of opinion that unless Congressmen carry out to the full the Congress constitution and the resolutions from time to time issued by the Working Committee, it is not possible to achieve its objects expeditiously or at all.

The foregoing resolution will have effect only pending the meeting to be specially convened of the All India Congress Committee and thereafter subject to confirmation by it, the secretary to call such meeting as early as possible after consultation with Hakim Ajmal Khan.

II. In the opinion of the Working Committee a project is necessary for the purpose of finding employment for those who may give up Government service and to that end the committee appoints Messrs. Mian Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chhotani, Jamnalal

Bajaj and V. J. Patel to draw up a scheme for consideration by the said special meeting of the All India Congress Committee.

III. Whereas the Gorakhpur tragedy is a powerful proof of the fact that the mass mind has not yet fully realised the necessity of non-violence as an integral, active and chief part of mass civil disobedience and whereas the reported indiscriminate acceptance of persons as volunteers in contravention of the Congress instructions betrays want of appreciation of the vital part of Satyagraha, and whereas in the opinion of the Working Committee the delay in the attainment of the national aim is solely due to the weak and incomplete execution in practice of the constitution of the Congress and with a view of perfecting the internal organisation.

The Working Committee advises all Congress organisations to be engaged in the following activities:—

(1) To enlist at least one crore of members of the Congress.

Note (i) :—Since peace (non-violence) and legitimateness (truth) are the essence of the Congress creed, no person should be enlisted who does not believe in non-violence and truth as indispensable for the attainment of Swaraj. The creed of the Congress must therefore be carefully explained to each person who is appealed to, to join the Congress.

Note (ii) :—The workers should note that no one who does not pay the annual subscription can be regarded as a qualified Congress man; all the old members are therefore to be advised to register their names.

(2) To popularise the spinning wheel and to organise the manufacture of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar.

Note (i):—To this end all workers and office-bearers should be dressed in khaddar and it is recommended that, with a view to encourage others, they should themselves learn handspinning.

(3) To organise national schools.

Note.—No picketing of the Government schools should be resorted to, but reliance should be placed upon the superiority of national schools in all vital matters to command attendance.

(4) To organise the Depressed Classes for a better life, to improve their social, mental and moral condition, to induce them to send their children to national schools and to provide for them the ordinary facilities which the other citizens enjoy.

Note.—Whilst therefore where the prejudice against the untouchables is still strong in places, separate schools and separate wells must be maintained out of Congress funds, every effort should be made to draw such children to national schools and to persuade the people to allow the untouchables to use the common wells.

(5) To organise the temperance campaign amongst the people addicted to the drink habit by house to house visits and to rely more upon appeal to the drinker in his home than upon picketing.

(6) To organise village and town *panchayats* for the private settlement of all disputes, reliance being placed solely upon force of public opinion and the truthfulness of *panchayat* decisions to ensure obedience to them.

Note:—In order to avoid even the appearance of coercion no social boycott should be resorted to against those who will not obey the panchayat decisions.

(7) In order to promote and emphasize unity among all classes and races and mutual goodwill, the establishment of which is the aim of the movement of non-co-operation, to organise a social service department that will render help to all, irrespective of differences, in times of illness or accident.

Note.—A Non Co-operator, whilst firmly adhering to his creed, will deem it a privilege to render personal service in case of illness or accident to every person whether English or Indian.

(8) To continue the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund collections and call upon every Congress man or Congresss ympathiser to pay at least one-hundredth part of his *annual income* for 1921. Every province to send every month twenty five per cent. of its income from the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund to the All-India Congress Committee.

The above resolution shall be brought before the forthcoming session of the All India Congress Committee for revision if necessary.

IV. That the next meeting of the Working Committee be held on the day on which the forthcoming session of the All India Committee meets.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Delhi on the 26th February 1922.

I. The Committee adopts the report submitted by Mahatma Gandhi on foreign propaganda and resolves that he be authorised to give effect to the scheme embodied in the report. The Committee hereby sanctions a sum of Rs. 10,000 for initial expenditure for the purpose.

II. Resolved that in future only the resolutions of the Committee, unless marked "privileged," be sent to the Press. Resolved further that complete proceedings of the meetings of the Working Committee be circulated amongst the members and that

the minutes of one meeting be read and confirmed at the next meeting.

III. Regarding the application of Mr. D. G. Gadre, a non-co-operating pleader, who served in the All India Congress Committee office for the months of November and December 1920, resolved that Rs. 200 be paid to him as remuneration.

IV. Resolved that Rs. 14,000 be sanctioned for the office expenditure for the current year.

V. The Committee having considered the letter from Jamiat-ul-Ulema resolves that the Jamiat be informed that the All-India Congress Committee has by its resolution passed on the 25th February 1922, fully carried out the intention of the Jamiat resolution regarding civil disobedience. The Committee, however, regrets to observe that in the volunteers' pledge forwarded by the Jamiat the adoption of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar is not strictly insisted upon and trusts that at the earliest possible opportunity the Jamiat will make the necessary change and bring the pledge in confirmity with the Congress pledge inasmuch as the universal adoption of khaddar is so vitally necessary for the attainment of Swaraj and the economic salvation of India. The Committee instructs Dr. Ansari to bring the said resolution to the notice of the Jamiat and if necessary to wait upon them in order to secure the necessary modification.

VI. The applications for grants to the non-co-operating pleaders from Utkal and C. P. Hindustani,

dated the 16th and 17th inst. be referred to Mahatma Gandhi for final disposal.

VII. All applications for grants be referred to Seth Jamnalalji for report.

VIII. The Working Committee recommends to the All-India Congress Committee to reduce the contribution by the provinces towards the All-India Congress Committee funds from 25 per cent. to 5 per cent.

IX. That the next meeting of the Working Committee be held on the date and at the place to be determined by Mahatma Gandhi in consultation with the President.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Ahmedabad on the 17th and 18th March, 1922.

This emergent meeting was held owing to the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi was sentenced to six years imprisonment on March 18th. All the resolutions given below, excepting the last two, were passed on March 17th when Mr. Gandhi was an under trial prisoner. On his conviction on March 18th, the Committee met again and passed resolutions 17 and 18.

I. Resolved that a sum of Rs. 3,00,000 from the All-India Committee funds be sanctioned for organising a larger production and marketting of khaddar.

II. The Working Committee congratulates the country upon the exemplary selfrestraint and peace observed throughout the length and breadth of the land on and since the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, and trusts that the same dignified restraint will be continued during the trying times to which the people must look forward.

The Working Committee is of opinion that observance of perfect peace in the country at this moment of supreme trial is a striking proof of the progress of non-violence and is further of opinion that Mahatma Gandhi's arrest and the restraint observed by the country have considerably advanced the cause of the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj.

The Working Committee desires to make it clear that Mahatma Gandhi's arrest makes no change in the programme recently laid down in the Bardoli-Delhi resolutions and calls upon all Congress organisations to devote themselves to the prosecution of the constructive programme laid down therein. The Working Committee warns the Provincial Committees against any hasty use of the powers conferred upon them in respect of individual civil disobedience whether defensive or aggressive.

The Working Committee regards the universal adoption of the spinning wheel and of the consequent use of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar as essential for the attainment of the country's goal and therefore urges all Congress and Khilafat organisations to prosecute the khaddar programme much more vigorously than hitherto.

Inasmuch as the use of khaddar apart from its great and undoubted political value is bound to give to millions of India's homes a steady cottage industry needed for the nation's spare hours and is calculated to supplement the slender resources of millions of

half-starved poor people and is thus bound to establish a link between classes and masses, the Working Committee hopes that men and women of all parties and races inhabiting India, irrespective of political colour, will lend their hearty support and co-operation to the movement, and to that end authorises Mian Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chhotani and Syt. Jamnalal Bajaj to interview capitalists and others in order to put the growing national cottage industry on a sound economic basis.

III. With reference to the letter and telegram of Syt. J. M. Mehta regarding the question of appointing a commission of enquiry into the Moplah disturbances, the Committee resolved after hearing Syt. Keshava Menon that the time for appointing a commission is not yet opportune.

IV. Resolved that Mr. Sen Gupta be requested to make such inquiries as he can into the allegations relating to Assam, referred to in several issues of "Young India" from January to March of this year, and also in the resolution passed by the Council of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee on 20-2-22.

V. That the resolution by Mr. Zahur Ahmad regarding the Congress attitude towards the Government loans be filed.

VI. With reference to the letter dated March 3rd, 1922 of the Secy. of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee regarding its share of the balance of the funds of the Reception Committee of the Bombay Special Session of the Congress now, in the

hands of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, resolved that Mr. N. C. Kelkar be requested to see the Secretaries of the Bombay Committee and to finally settle the dispute.

VII. Regarding the various telegrams and letters asking for a special meeting of the All India Congress Committee at an early date, resolved that in view of the resolution (No. 2) passed by the Working Committee there was no immediate necessity to call any meeting of the All India Congress Committee.

VIII. The Committee strongly recommends the people the observance of the National Week from the 6th to the 13th April, 1922, by fasting and prayers on the 6th and fasting, prayers and a complete and peaceful *hartal* on the 13th. The Committee desires that the whole week be spent in rigorously prosecuting the constructive programme of the Congress with special reference to the collection of the Tilak Swaraj Fund and the manufacture and spread of khaddar.

IX. Resolved that out of a sum of Rs. 50,000 already sanctioned for the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee by resolution No. 23 of the Grants Sub-Committee a sum of Rs. 10,000 be immediately remitted to the Committee and with regard to the remainder the resolution of the Grants Sub-Committee referred to should be given effect to as the General Secretary thinks proper.

X. Resolved that Rs. 5,000 be granted to the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee for general

Congress work and the amount be deducted from the sum of Rs. 84,000 sanctioned for relief in Malabar by resolution No. 5 of the Working Committee held on 17-1-22, and further that Rs. 20,000 out of the above amount of Rs. 84,000 be remitted for relief work.

XI. Regarding the amount of Rs. 10,000 sanctioned as grant to the Rohtak Anglo Vernacular School by resolution No. 3 (a) of the Working Committee held on 23-11-21, resolved that the amount be paid to the Secy. of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee after duducting any sums which may be due by the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee to the All India Congress Committee in connection with the contribution of 25 per cent. of the Tilak Swaraj Fund to the All India Congress Committee.

XII. Resolved that the balance of Rs. 15,000 out of the amount of Rs. 25,000 sanctioned for famine relief in the Ceded Districts be paid to Syt. T. Prakasam representing the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, and the Committee be asked to submit a detailed account of the expenditure.

XIII. Resolved that all applications for grants be taken for consideration at the next sitting of the Committee.

XIV. With reference to resolution No. 1 passed by the Working Committee at Delhi on the 26th February the Committee authorises Syt. Vithalbhai J. Patel to carry out the resolution in the absence of

Mahatma Gandhi and issue "The Congress Bulletin" in Bombay.

XV. Resolved that the consideration of all applications for grants be postponed till after the budget for the year is considered by this Committee.

XVI. With reference to Syt. S. V. Kowjalgi's letter dated 13th March to Mahatma Gandhi, a copy of which was forwarded to the General Secretary, the Committee, after hearing Mr. Kowjalgi, resolves that if efforts be made locally for raising subscriptions for the education of the backward and depressed classes in the Bijapur district, applications received from the district for grants therefore will be favourably considered, funds permitting, on Mr. Kowjalgi submitting a report on the number of schools actually started in the district, the amount to be spent on such schools annually, and the amount locally raised for the purpose.

[The Committee met immediately after Mahatma Gandhi's trial was over, resulting in his conviction for six years, and passed the following resolutions.]

XVII. The Working Committee while realising that Mahatma Gandhi's conviction deprives the country of the guidance of its universally trusted and beloved leader rejoices that through him India delivers to the world, even in her bondage, her ancient message of truth and non-violence.

XVIII. Resolved that the next meeting of the Working Committee be fixed by the General Secretary in consultation with the President.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Calcutta on the 20th, 21st and 22nd April, 1922.

I. After taking into consideration invitations from Behar, Andhra, Ajmer, Gujarat and Karnatak and after hearing Mr. Prakasam on behalf of Andhra and Babu Rajendra Prasad on behalf of Behar, the Committee resolved :—

That the invitation of the Behar Provincial Congress Committee to hold the next Congress at Gaya be accepted.

II. With reference to the President's telegram of the 19th April resolved :—

That the subject matter of the telegram may be considered at the next meeting of the Working Committee to be convened as soon as possible at Bombay, the date to be settled by the General Secretary in consultation with the President.

III. Resolved that the draft rules prepared by the Sub-Committee consisting of the President, Dr. Ansari and Mr. Kelkar be circulated amongst all the members of the Working Committee and that the subject matter be considered at the next meeting.

IV. Read and discussed the Khaddar Scheme submitted by Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj, Mr. Chhotani's telegram and Mr. Patel's proposals. Resolved

That Babu Rajendra Prasad do draw up resolutions incorporating results of the discussion and send

copies of the same to Mr. Chhotani, Mr. Bajaj, Mr. Patel and other members of the Working Committee, and that the matter be brought up by the General Secretary for final disposal at the next meeting of the Working Committee.

V. Read an application from the Registrar, Gujarat Vidyapitha through the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee for a grant of Rs. 22,381 by the Trustees of the Bombay Tilak Swaraj Fund to the Antyaja Karyalaya, Ahmedabad, for organising education amongst depressed classes in Gujarat. The Working Committee recommends:—

That a sum of Rs. 5000 be granted to the Antyaja Karyalaya, Ahmedabad and resolves to ask for information from the Trustees as to the total amount earmarked for work amongst the depressed classes and that the General Secretary do make proposals for utilizing the same to be placed before the Committee for recommendation to the Trustees.

Resolved further that the General Secretary be authorised to get information from the Trustees regarding funds earmarked for other purposes.

VI. With reference to the letter dated 8th April from the Secretary, Tilak Swaraj Fund, Bombay, regarding an application from Moulvi Badrul Hasan of Hyderabad, Deccan, for a loan of Rs. 40,000 to be exclusively devoted to the khaddar work, the Working Committee recommends that the application be granted by the Trustees.

VII. With reference to the letter dated 8th April from the President, Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee regarding the application by the National Education Board, Surat, for a grant or loan of Rs. 96,000 from the All India funds, and the application by the National Education Board, Nadiad, for a grant of Rs. 10,000 by the Trustees of the Tilak Swaraj Fund, Bombay, resolved that:—

(a) The Surat application for a grant or a loan of Rs. 96,000 be rejected; and

(b) The Nadiad application for a grant of Rs. 10,000 be recommended to the Trustees of the Tilak Swaraj Fund, Bombay.

VIII. Read an application from the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee requesting the Working Committee to relieve the Utkal Committee from paying the balance of the 25 % contributions to the All India Fund and resolved that:—

The application be rejected and that the General Secretary do call upon all the provinces that have not yet paid up their dues in respect of the Tilak Swaraj Fund to do so immediately.

IX. Read an application from the Thana District Congress Committee, recommended by the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, asking for a loan of Rs. 30,000 from the All India Fund, or a recommendation by the Working Committee for the said loan from the Trustees of the Tilak Swaraj Fund, Bombay, for khaddar work. Resolved that

The Thana District Committee be informed that the Working Committee is prepared to consider the application provided the Thana Congress Committee collect by local efforts an equal amount for starting the khaddar scheme.

X. Read a letter addressed to Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj from Mr. Dinanath, a non-co-operating pleader of Surat, expressing his willingness to serve on the staff under the proposed khaddar scheme. Resolved that the application be referred to the Surat District Congress Committee for opinion.

XI. The Working Committee having read and considered the report and recommendations of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta., who was deputed by the President to investigate the situation that had arisen in Ajmer owing to the differences and disputes among the Congress workers, and more especially among the office-bearers of the Ajmer Provincial Congress Committee, and report to the Working Committee, hereby accepts all those recommendations and appoints Messrs. Patel and Ansari as Special Commissioners to proceed to Ajmer as soon as possible and carry them out by holding fresh elections and taking all or any of the steps referred to in those recommendations as may be found necessary. The Working Committee puts on record its thanks to Mr. Mehta for his labours in this connection.

XII. The Working Committee accepts the donation of a further sum of Rs. one lac made by Seth

Jamnala Bajaj in response to the Committee's request in respect of the Lawyers' Fund. The Committee resolves that the fund be kept and administered solely by Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, or his nominee, his decision being final in every case.

XIII. The Working Committee is of opinion that in order to make the Congress organisation more democratic and representative, special efforts should be made by Congress workers to enrol a large number of members from the depressed and working classes on the Congress register.

XIV. Resolved that no stores or depots managed by any Congress organisation should deal with any but pure hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar and that no Congress funds should be expended on the manufacture of cloth in which any but pure hand spun yarn is used.

XV. The Working Committee reiterates that as far as possible, and except in very special cases, the All India Congress Committee is not in a position to make grants for provincial purposes and trusts that every Provincial Congress Committee will endeavour to raise funds and be self-supporting. The Working Committee reminds the Provincial Congress Committees that only 5 per cent. of the collection of Tilak Swaraj Fund has been recommended as the All India quota in future in order to make the provincial finances independent.

XVI. The Working Committee confirms the Gandhi Day resolution that the 18th day of every month,

so long as Mahatma Gandhi is kept away from us, shall be observed throughout India as a day of sacrifice and prayer and that every person shall set apart that day's income as his contribution towards the Tilak Swaraj Fund. The Working Committee resolves that it should be left to every donor to accept this method of contribution to the Tilak Swaraj Fund or the Bardoli resolution of contributing one per cent. of the annual income, either or both, according to his desire.

XVII. With reference to the letter from the Secretary, Punjab Khilafat Committee enquiring whether a non-co-operator can enter into any legal defence in a civil case, the Working Committee advises that the resolution of the Congress has already been explained by this Committee in its resolution X dated 14th June, 1921 a copy of the relevant part of which is herewith attached:—

"In view of the misunderstanding as to the interpretation and meaning of the Congress resolution regarding lawyers and law courts, the Working Committee resolves that the non co-operators should, in the event of prosecution or a civil suit being brought against them, not participate in the proceedings beyond making before the court a full statement of facts in order to establish then innocence before the public."

XVIII. Read a letter from Mr. Devdas Gandhi regarding payment to Mrs. George Joseph; resolved that the letter be referred to Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj for final disposal.

XIX. Resolved that out of the sum granted to the U. P. Congress Committee at the last meeting of this Committee the Council of the said Committee be permitted to advance Rs. 25,000 to the Nationalist

Journals Ltd. to enable them to re-start the *Independent* and run it on Congress lines, providing for a lien on properties of the Company for the amount advanced.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee on the 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th May, 1922 at Bombay.

I. That the minutes of the last meeting of the Committee held on the 20th, 21st and 22nd April 1922 at Calcutta be confirmed.

II. Resolved that the presidents of the Central Khilafat Committee and Jamait-ul-Ulema be requested to call meetings of their respective Working Committees on the day and at the place of the next meeting of this Committee in order to enable the three bodies to confer together, if necessary.

That the next meeting of the Working Committee be held at Lucknow on the 5th June 1922.

III. That copies of the draft rules regarding the distribution of departments be circulated to all the members and considered at the next meeting of this Committee.

IV. With reference to the President's telegram dated the 2nd April, resolved that the Provincial Congress Committee, Punjab, be asked if in view of the Committee of Inquiry already appointed to investigate cases of repression in the Punjab, any further action by this Committee is necessary.

V. Read papers in connection with Nagpur Provincial Congress Committee and Wardha Taluk Congress Committee elections and Dr. Moonje's telegrams and resolved,

(*a*) That the Provincial Congress Committee be asked to explain why they have postponed the annual elections, and

(*b*) That Mr. Prakasam be deputed to proceed to Nagpur and Wardha to investigate and dispose of the question before the 25th May, his decision being final.

VI. Resolved that the Treasurer's audited statement of accounts of the All India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund up to the 30th April 1922, be passed.

VII. Resolved that the General Secretary be requested to take steps to convene the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee on Wednesday the 7th June at Lucknow.

VIII. Resolved,

(*a*) That a committee consisting of Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahib, Dr. Ansari, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar and Principal Gidwani be appointed to prepare a scheme for organizing and financing national education in the country and for that purpose to raise funds, prepare a budget and submit the proposals at the next meeting of this Committee.

(*b*) That all applications for grants or loans for national education received so far and to

be received in future be referred to the foregoing Committee for their opinion.

IX. With reference to Bengal Provincial Congress Committee's application for the remission of 25% of Tilak Swaraj Fund collections due to the All India Congress Committee, resolved that the application be rejected.

X. Resolved that Rs. 17,381 be recommended to be paid to the Antyaja Karyalaya, Ahmedabad, in addition to Rs. 5,000 already recommended by this Committee.

XI. Resolved that the Punjab P. C. Committee's application for Rs. 1,25,000 for Shahadara depressed classes settlement cannot be considered unless the Working Committee is satisfied that sufficient funds are raised locally to start the scheme and the scheme so started is in working order.

XII. Resolved that Rs. 5,000 be earmarked for the Ahmednagar depressed classes home and that the amount be recommended to be paid when the Working Committee is satisfied that the home is started by local efforts and is in working order.

XIII. On the application of Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar resolved that Rs. 10,000 be earmarked for depressed classes work in Madras and that the amount be recommended to be paid when the application is sent to this Committee through the Provincial Congress Committee and on this Committee being satisfied that at least an equal amount is raised by local efforts.

XIV. Resolved that Mr. G. P. Blizard's claim for £ 68-13-8 be allowed as recommended by Mr. Kelkar.

XV. (*a*) Resolved that the application of Dr. Nur Mohammed, dated Kabul Feb. 5, 1922, for affiliation of the Kabul Committee be placed for consideration at the next session of the Congress, provided in the meantime every member of the organization signs the Congress creed and accepts the Non-violent Non-co-operation resolution of the Congress.

(*b*) Resolved further that his request for permission to raise a loan cannot be granted.

XVI. With reference to Mr. Tyabji's inquiry regarding Rs. 18,00,000 recommended for Khaddar work in Gujarat, resolved that Mr. Tyabji be informed that this Committee has received no complaint on that account form the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee.

XVII. Resolved that Mr. Patel's rep t regarding Ajmer elections be confirmed.

XVIII. That the resignation of Mr. Kashive, member, All India Congress Committee, forwarded by the U. P. Congress Committee be recorded.

XIX. With reference to Mr. Dixit's letter dated 3-5-22 inquiring whether non-co-operators can offer legal defence in a civil suit, resolved that the attention of Mr. Dixit be drawn to this Committee's resolution

No. 10, dated 14th June, 1922, on the subject of non-co-operators and law courts.

XX. That the following Khaddar Scheme be adopted by the Committee:—

The Working Committee resolves that in pursuance of the constructive programme now before the country, special efforts should be made by every province to stimulate the production and consumption of hand-spun and hand woven khaddar on a sound organized basis

With a view to help the provinces by way of loans and technical advice and to make available to each province the experience of other parts and to collect and disseminate useful information, the Working Committee resolves to entrust Seth Jamnalal Bajaj with the organization of a special department for which the Committee sanctions Rs 17 lakhs

The department shall consist of three divisions --

1 Technical instruction
2 Production
3 Sale

Technical instruction will be provided for at the Sabarmati Ashram under the direction of Mr Maganlal Gandhi. Every province will be invited to send two or three students each to this institute for a six months course, to be trained in all the processes of khadi production, Students trained in this institute will be engaged for the organization of khadi centres or similar training institutes in their respective provinces

The Department of Production will aim at the co ordination of interprovincial work and the standardization of yarn or cloth. The department will not ordinarily interfere with the administration of local organizations Mr Lakhmidas Purshottam will direct the department with the help of a staff of travelling inspectors.

The Sales department will open Khadi Stores in some select places where Provincial Congress Committees are unable to provide adequate facilities for consumers Mr. Vithaldas Jerajani will be in charge of this department.

Seth Jamnalal Bajaj will be responsible for the co-ordination of the departments and general propaganda work He will be solely responsible for the administration of finances

All applications for loans shall be forwarded by the provinces to Seth Jamnalal who will submit them to the Working Committee for disposal with his own recommendations, provided that in case of emergency Seth Jamnalal may grant loans not exceeding Rs 5,000 in anticipation of the Working Committee's sanction

In deciding applications for loans the Working Committee shall keep in view both the requirements of Provinces and the extent of their investments in khadi in order to stimulate local effort and help deserving cases.

BUDGET	Rs.
Technical Instruction.	25,000
Sales Department.	2,00,000
Production Department Office	20,000
Propaganda, Information Bureau.	1,00,000
Loans to Provinces	13,55,000

XXI. In supersession of its resolution No. 22 dated 6-11-1921 recommending a grant of Rs. 18 lakhs to Gujarat for khaddar work, and in so far as it has not been carried out hitherto, and in view of the fact that large funds are immediately necessary to finance the provinces in terms of the resolution regarding the khaddar scheme adopted by this Committee on the 13th May 1922, the Committee resolves

(1) That the whole amount now in the hands of the Trustees, Bombay Tilak Swaraj Fund, excepting the amount earmarked by the donors for any specific purpose, should be transferred by the Trustees to Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.

(2) That the amount of Rs. 6,00,000 reserved by the Provincial Congress Committee, Bombay, for its expenses should also be transferred to Seth Jamnalal Bajaj for the same purpose, after deducting such amount as may be considered reasonable and necessary for carrying on the normal activities of the Provincial Congress Committee for the current year, and to that end the Working Committee requests that the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee will take into consideration the urgency and importance of prosecuting the khaddar programme and take steps to modify its resolution reserving Rs. 6,00,000 for their expenses and thus enable the Trustees to transfer the amount to Seth Jamnalal Bajaj at an early date.

That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, the Trustees, Bombay Tilak Swaraj Fund and Seth Jamnalal Bajaj

for necessary action, a report of which should be submitted to the All India Congress Committee office before the 28th May 1922.

XXII. Resolved that all applications for grants or loans for khaddar work received up to now or to be received hereafter be referred to Seth Jamnalal Bajaj for consideration and report.

XXIII. Read and considered correspondence between Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru on behalf of U. P. Provincial Congress Committee and the General Secretary regarding the claim of the All India Congress Committee to the full 25% contribution from the U. P. total collections; resolved

(1) That Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Mr. Patel be authorized to go into the whole matter and determine the amount due to the All India funds from the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee.

(2) That in the meantime the General Secretary should remit without delay Rs. 25,000 to the Allahabad Bank to the credit of the Nationalist Journals Ltd. through the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee and that the said amount should be treated not as a grant to be paid to the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee as per resolution No. 19 passed by this Committee at Calcutta on the 20th April 1922, but should be treated as a loan to the Provincial Congress Committee, and,

(3) That the amount that may be found due by Messrs. Jamnalal Bajaj and Patel from the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee shall be recovered

from that Committee and the General Secretary shall make no further grant or loan till that amount is recovered.

XXIV. Read and considered the application of Mr. T. Prakasam for Rs. 7,000 for depressed classes work in Andhra. Resolved that the Trustees, Tilak Swaraj Fund, Bombay, be requested to pay the amount to Mr. Prakasam, President Andhra Provincial Congress Committee.

XXV. That the application of Madyapana Pratibandhak Mandal, Poona for Rs. 25,000 for anti-drink campaign be rejected.

XXVI. Resolved that in supersession of resolution No. 8 passed by this Committee on the 5th October 1921, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar be appointed to investigate and decide the Andhra-Utkal dispute, his decision being final.

XXVII. In pursuance of resolution No. 7 of the All India Congress Committee dated the 5th November 1921, the Working Committee appoints a commission consisting of Messrs Faiz B. Tyabji (chairman), S. Srinivas Iyengar and C. Abdul Hakim, for investigating and reporting to the All India Congress Committee

(1) The causes which led to the outbreak of the Moplah rebellion.

(2) The extent of the outbreak.

(3) The measures adopted by the Government for suppressing it, *e. g.*

(*a*) the declaration of Martial Law and its working.

(*b*) any other steps; and their effect.

(4) Forcible conversion by the Moplahs of Hindus, the desecration of temples and outrages on men, women and children.

(5) Destruction of property by the Moplahs.

(6) Steps, if any, necessary to restore and strengthen Hindu-Muslim Unity in Malabar.

The Committee appoints Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta as Secretary of the Commission.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Lucknow, June 6th, 7th and 10th, 1922.

I. The Working Committee recommends to the All India Congress Committee to pass the following resolution:—

Whereas repression in a most severe form has been resorted to by the Government in several provinces of the country in spite of the suspension of all aggressive activities, this Committee is of opinion

(1) That civil disobedience will have to be undertaken to enable the country to enforce its demands, and accordingly calls upon all Provincial Committees to make greater efforts in working the constructive programme by the 30th September 1922, when the situation will be considered by this Committee and

the question of launching civil disobedience will be finally determined.

(2). That the President be requested to nominate and authorize a few gentlemen to tour round the country and report on the situation by the 15th of September.

Note.—The above resolution does not affect the powers given to the provinces by the resolution passed at Delhi on the 25th February 1922.

II. This Committee hereby appoints a committee consisting of Swami Shraddhanandji, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Messrs. I. K. Yajnik and G. B. Deshpande to formulate a scheme embodying practical measures to be adopted for bettering the condition of the so-called untouchables throughout the country and to place it for consideration before the next meeting of this Committee, the amount to be raised for the scheme to be Rs. 2 lacs for the present.

III. Resolved that the consideration of the resolution of the C. P. Marathi Provincial Congress Committee adopting the report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee suggesting modifications in the Non-Cooperation programme be adjourned to the next meeting as desired by Dr. Moonje on behalf of the Provincial Congress Committee.

IV. The Working Committee recommends to the All India Congress Committee to adopt the following resolution:—This Committee approves of the Working Committee's recommendation that provincial contributions to the All India funds be reduced from 25% to 5%.

V. The Working Committee recommends to the All India Congress Committee the following resolution:—The All India Congress Committee in this its first meeting after the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi places on record his services to the cause of humanity by his message of Peace and Truth and reiterates its faith in the principle of Non-Violent Non-Cooperation inaugurated by him for the enforcement of the rights of the people of India.

VI. With reference to the letter from the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee dated the 26th May, 1922, resolved that the matter be referred back to the Provincial Congress Committee for detailed opinion and advice, in case they cannot themselves dispose of the matter.

VII. Resolved that a loan of Rs. 50,000, be sanctioned for khaddar work in Sind province to be paid in such instalments as Seth Jamnalal Bajaj may from time to time think proper.

VIII. Resolved that a sum of Rs. 1,000 be advanced to Syt. C. Rajagopalachariar for contingent expenses.

IX. Regarding the application dated June 2, 1922 of the Editor of the *Congress*, Delhi, for a loan or subsidy, this Committee regrets that it cannot give the subsidy or loan asked for.

X. After hearing the representatives from Bengal on the resolution regarding the khaddar scheme prepared by Dr. P. C. Ghosh and referred by the All

India Congress Committee to this Committee for disposal, resolved that no revision of the khaddar scheme already passed is necessary.

XI. Read letter from Swami Shradhanandji dated 8th June, 1922, for an advance for drawing up a scheme for depressed classes work. Resolved that Mr. Gangadhar Rao B. Deshpande be appointed convener of the sub-committee appointed for the purpose and he be requested to convene a meeting at an early date, and that Swami Shradhananda's letter be referred to the sub-committee.

XII. The Working Committee places on record its grateful appreciation of the services rendered by Mr. V. J. Patel as Working General Secretary during the absence of Pandit Motilal Nehru in jail.

XIII. With reference to the Congress Bulletin, resolved that Mr. V. J. Patel be requested to issue it and engage for the purpose such office establishment as he may consider necessary at Bombay, the Bulletin to be printed for the time being as a supplement to *Young India.*

XIV. Regarding the motion of Mr. K. Santanam (Punjab) for the appointment of the Punitive Police Tax Committee, referred by the All India Congress Committee to this Committee for disposal, resolved that all Provincial Congress Committees be requested to consider the circumstances of the imposition in their respective provinces and to report to this Committee after such enquiry as they may deem necessary.

XV. Resolved that all Provincial Congress Committees be requested immediately to make a complete investigation into the progress of the constructive work, measures and methods of repression and their effect, feasibility of civil disobedience, and the form or forms of civil disobedience suitable for adoption in their respective provinces and such other points as may be referred to them by the civil disobedience Committee to be appointed by the President in terms of resolution No. 5 passed by the All India Congress Committee on the 9th June, 1922, and to prepare a report with full details for the consideration of that Committee.

XVI. In view of the foregoing resolution on civil disobedience inquiry resolved that the motion of Mr. K. Santanam for the appointment of an inquiry committee for the Punjab be recorded, no separate action being necessary.

XVII. Resolved that in view of the resolution on civil disobedience inquiry passed by this Committee the motion of Mr. Niranjan Patnaik for the appointment of a committee to inquire into Kanika atrocities be recorded, no separate action being necessary.

XVIII. Read Ajmer Provincial Congress Committee's letter and telegram dated the 29th May and the 4th June respectively. Resolved that the Treasurer be requested to remit to the Provincial Congress Committee Rs. 4,000 for general purposes out of the amount now in his hands to the credit of the

Provincial Congress Committee for khaddar purposes, and that the balance be transferred to the Khaddar Department, the amount to be earmarked for the Provincial Congress Committee for khaddar purposes and to be paid as grant to that Committee on the member-in-charge being satisfied regarding the prosecution of the khaddar work in that province.

XIX. Resolved that the application of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee for Rs. 5,000 for carrying on the organization work during the year 1922 be referred to Babu Rajendra Prasad for report.

XX. That Mr. Prakasam's decision on the C. P. Marathi Provincial Congress Committee and Wardha Taluk Congress Committee election disputes be regarded as final and forwarded for favour of immediate action to the Provincial Committee and Wardha Taluk Committee and communicated to Mr. Triyambak Rao K. Deshpande, Wardha, for information.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Delhi, on June 30th 1922.

I. Resolved that the next meeting of this Committee be held at 8 a. m. on the 18th July, 1922, at Arya Bhavan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay.

II. That one out of a panel consisting of the following three gentlemen be elected member of the Malabar Inquiry Commission in place of Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, resigned, the first mentioned to be

offered the membership first and the last on the refusal of the other two.

1. Syt. S. S. Setlur.
2. „ G. B. Deshpande.
3. „ A. Rangaswami Iyengar.

III. That the General Secretary be authorized to pay up to Rs. 1,000 for the expenses of the Malabar Inquiry Commission and that Rs. 500 be remitted immediately to Mr. Mehta.

IV. With reference to the letter of the C. P. Marathi Provincial Congress Committee dated June 16, 1922, the Committee's attention is drawn to the resolution of this Committee, No, 20, dated the 10th June, 1922, which holds good till it is set aside by the All India Congress Committee and this Committee trusts that the Provincial Congress Committee will give effect to the said resolution.

V. Without prejudice to the resolutions passed by this Committee, resolved that the Trustees, Tilak Swarajya Fund, Bombay, be requested to pay Rs. 5 lacs to Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, member-in-charge, All India Khaddar Department, and be also requested to meet the Working Committee at Bombay on July 18, 1922, in a joint conference for the disposal of the funds in their hands.

VI. With reference to the proposal of Mr. Ashrafuddin Ahmad, resolved that as suggested by Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta a sum of Rs. 180 p. m. for the next three months be sanctioned for the expenses of six workers from Bengal to serve in Assam.

VII. Except in so far as the matters dealt with by Babu Bhagavan Das are covered by the Congress, the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee, this Committee is of opinion that time has not arrived for the consideration of the other questions raised by him.

VIII. Resolved that subject to the censorship of one of the General Secretaries of the All India Congress Committee the press be admitted in future to the proceedings of that Committee.

IX. With reference to Sind Provincial Congress Committee's letter dated June 8, 1922 inquiring if the Provincial Congress Committee's permission is necessary for disobeying Government orders prohibiting normal Congress activities, resolved that no permission is necessary.

X. With reference to the letter of Babu Govind Das suggesting the postponement of the meeting of the All India Congress Committee from the 15th to the 20th August, resolved that he be informed that the date, namely August 15, having been fixed by a formal resolution of the All India Congress Committee this Committee has no power to alter the said date.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Bombay on July 18 and 19, 1922.

I. With reference to the letter of Babu Rajendra Prasad, resolved that Rs. 5,000 be sanctioned as a grant to Assam and the Treasurer be requested to

remit the amount to Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta who will kindly pay out such sums as may be required by the Secretary, Assam Provincial Congress Committee from time to time.

II. Resolved that the National Educational Scheme drafted by Principal Gidwani be forwarded to Dr. Ansari for favour of a considered report by the National Education Sub-Committee, and that the applications received from time to time be also referred to the Sub-Committee for consideration.

III. That the consideration of the draft rules regarding the distribution of departments be postponed to the next meeting of the Working Committee.

IV. That the General Secretary be asked to request Swami Shradhanand to reconsider his resignation and withdraw it and a sum of Rs. 500 be remitted to the Convener, Syt. G. B. Deshpande, for the contingent expenses of the Depressed Classes Sub-Committee.

V. Resolved that the U. P. Provincial Committee was competent to make its own rules for the election of its executive and the question of altering any particular rule rests with that Committee.

VI. The Working Committee regrets that no remission of the quota to the Tilak Swaraj Fund can be made in the case of Bengal but that the question of the sum to be paid and the manner of payment be postponed until after Syt. Das' release. The Working Committee resolves further that the question of non-payment of the quota should not be in the way of

considering Bengal's application for grant from the Khaddar Fund.

VII. In view of the understanding arrived at between the representatives of both parties at Nagpur on the 12th July, 1922, in the presence of the President, the General Secretary, and other members of the Working Committee, and referred to in the letter of Dr. B. S. Moonje dated 14-7-1922, namely,

(*a*) that the elections in the C. P. (Marathi) be finished by the end of October,

(*b*) that the present members of the All India Congress Committee will not place before the All India Congress Committee the report of the Sub-Committee appointed by that Provincial Congress Committee regarding modifications in the N. C. O. programme.

(*c*) and that whatever views they may place before the All India Congress Committee in this connection, will be in their individual capacity and not on behalf of the Provincial Committee,

resolved that no further action need be taken.

VIII. That the application of the Masulipatam Town Committee be sent to the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee so that, if they so think, they might incorporate it in their application for grant from the All India Khaddar Department.

IX. With reference to Babu Govind Das' letter of 14-7-1922 suggesting the postponement of the All India Congress Committee meeting, resolved that the question having been decided by this Committee at its last meeting there was no need to reconsider it.

X. Resolved that a loan of Rs. 1,50,000 each be sanctioned for khaddar work in Andhra and Utkal, to be paid in such instalments as Seth Jamnalal Bajaj may from time to time think proper.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee on September 17 and 18 in Amritsar and September 21, 1922, in Multan.

The Working Committee of the Congress met the members of the Working Committee of the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya gave a brief account of the recent occurrences connected with Guru-ka-Bagh.

I. (*a*) This Committee places on record its strong condemnation of the brutalities perpetrated by the police on unresisting and non-violent Akalis.

(*b*) This Committee congratulates the Akalis on the calm and cool courage and marvellous self-restraint with which they have borne the sufferings so cruelly inflicted upon them.

(*c*) This Committee appoints a Committee of the following gentlemen to enquire into the whole matter and submit a report to the All India Congress Committee before the end of October.

(1) Syt. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, late Advocate General, Madras, Chairman.
(2) Syt. M. R. Jayakar, Bar-at-Law, Bombay.

(3) Syt. J. M. Sen Gupta, Bar-at-Law, Calcutta.
(4) Mr. S. E. Stokes, Kotgarh.
(5) M. Mohammad Taqi, Delhi.
(6) Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni Secretary.

Note:—Syt. M. R. Jayakar having been disabled by accident could not accept the membership and Syt. M. V. Abhyankar Bar-at-Law, Nagpur, was appointed in his place.

(*d*) In case any of the gentlemen named above is unable to act the President is empowered to nominate any other person in his place.

(*c*) Three members of the Committee will form a quorum.

II. Read a representation presented on behalf of Namdhari Sikhs by Pandit Kartar Singh and Sardar Nidhan Singh, requesting the Working Committee to help to settle the differences between them and the Akalis. The Committee has also had the advantage of hearing the views of the gentlemen named above.

Resolved that the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee be requested to investigate the differences between the two sects of the Sikh community with a view to bring about an amicable settlement and report the result to this Committee at an early date.

III. Resolved that Hakim Ajmal Khan, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Maulana Abdul Majid, Syt. V. J. Patel, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Lala Duni Chand, Syt. T. Prakasam, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Maulana T. A. Sherwani, Maulana Moazzamali and Sardar Harchand Singh be deputed to visit Multan with a view to bring about the restoration of good feelings between Hindus and Mussulmans there which have unfortunately been disturbed recently.

IV. As the resignations of Messrs. Kelkar and Sen Gupta involve the question of principle which in the opinion of this Committee should be decided by the All India Congress Committee with a view to the adoption of a uniform practice for all provinces, resolved that the resignations be referred to the All India Congress Committee.

V. Resolved that copy of the letter of Mr. Moideen Koya dated the 16th August, 1922 regarding the administration of the Kerala Congress Relief Funds be sent to the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee for such remarks as they may be advised to make, and the General Secretary be empowered to deal with the matter finally.

VI. Read letter of the Secretary, Tilak Swarajya Fund, Bombay dated the 8th August 1922. Resolved that the General Secretary be authorised to communicate with the Tilak Swarajya Fund Trustees, Bombay with a view to settle the matter finally.

VII. Read letter of the Secretary, Tilak Swarajya Fund, Bombay dated the 6th August, 1922 regarding Rs. 3,00,000 paid to the Gujerat Provincial Congress Committee. Resolved that copies of the whole correspondence be sent to the Gujerat Provincial Congress Committee and the Committee be asked to give their version of the case.

VIII. Read Dr. Moonje's letter No. 162/1922 dated the 16th July, 1922. This Committee regrets that in spite of its resolution No. XII dated the 6th September, 1921 no steps have been taken to pay up

the dues of the All India Congress Committee notwithstanding repeated demands nor have any steps been taken to dispose of the chairs and other furniture. It resolves that any balance of money on account of the Nagpur Congress should at once be paid to this Committee in payment of its dues and trusts that the parties concerned will realise their responsibility in the matter and take the necessary steps in this behalf. It further resolves that Seth Jamnalal Bajaj be authorised to dispose of the said furniture as early as possible and credit the sum realised to the All India Congress Committee in full or part payment of any balance as the case may be and to report the result to this Committee for such action as it may deem necessary and proper for the realization of the balance, if any.

IX. Read letter of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee dated the 30th August and the enclosed resolutions. (a) This Committee regrets that it is unable to sanction the grant of Rs. 2,000 for depressed classes work in Barisal district. (b) This Committee regrets that it cannot grant the application for Rs. 10,000 for the Dyeing Laboratory to be started at Dacca.

X. That copy of the letter of the Secretary, District Congress Committee, Indore dated 1-9-1922 be sent to the Ajmer Provincial Congress Committee for such explanation as they may have to offer and their particular attention be drawn to the statements of the Secretary, Indore District Congress Committee re-

garding the receipts for Rs. 27,000 and the District's share of Rs. 6,750.

XI. Considered the resolution of the C. P. Hindustani Provincial Congress Committee, asking for sanction to elect substitutes to the All India Congress Committee in place of members imprisoned. Resolved that the sanction be given.

XII. In supersession of its resolution No. I passed in Bombay on July 18,1922, this Committee requests the Treasurer to remit to Babu Rajendra Prasad the amount of Rs. 5,000 granted to the Assam Provincial Congress Committee to be paid out by him in such instalments as may be required by the Secretary, Assam Provincial Congress Committee from time to time.

XIII. This Committee desires that the 2nd October be observed as the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi in a fitting manner. Prayers for the realization of the national aims and for the health and long life of Mahatma Gandhi should be offered and steps taken for the propagation of khaddar.

XIV. The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress offers its sincere congratulations on behalf of the people of India to His Excellency Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Turkish Nation for their glorious victories and assures them of India's continued support.

The General Secretary is authorised to cable the foregoing resolution to His Excellency Ghazi Mustafa

Kemal Pasha through His Excellency Djelaluddin Arif Bey, Ambassador of the Angora Government at Rome.

XV. This Committee expresses its grief at the death of Babu Moti Lal Ghose, the Editor of the "Amrita Bazar Patrika", whose ripe judgment and vast experience derived from his life-long services were particularly needed in the critical times through which the country is now passing.

XVI. Considered the applications for loans from the Khaddar Fund on behalf of the provinces of Kerala, Karnatak, C. P. Marathi, U. P., Behar, Bengal and Assam and the recommendations of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, member-in-charge, Khaddar Department thereon. Resolved that a sum not exceeding the 1st instalment may be advanced for the present to Kerala, Karnatak, Behar and Assam, and that this be paid in such smaller instalments as Seth Jamnalal Bajaj may consider proper.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee on the 18th, 19th and 25th, November 1922 at Calcutta.

I. Resolved that representatives of newspapers be admitted to the meeting of the All India Congress Committee on condition that they agree not to publish any report till it is approved by one of the General Secretaries.

II. Resolved that a sub-committee consisting of Messrs G. B. Deshpande and J. M. Sen Gupta be appointed to decide all disputes regarding elections

in C. P. Marathi and Maharashtra with power, in case of difference, to appoint an umpire, and that their decision be final.

The following resolutions (Nos. III to X) mere adopted to be placed before the meeting of the All India Congress Committee for discussion.

III. This Committee accepts the report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee on the question of civil disobedience and resolves (*a*) that the country is not prepared at present to embark upon general mass civil disobedience but, in view of the fact that a situation may arise in any part of the country demanding an immediate resort to mass civil disobedience of a limited character *e. g.* the breaking of a particular law or the non-payment of a particular tax for which the people are ready, this Committee authorises Provincial Committees to sanction such limited mass civil disobedience on their own responsibility, if the conditions laid down for mass civil disobedience by this Committee in its resolution No. 2 dated the 4th November 1921 are fulfilled; (*b*) that resolution No. 2 passed by this Committee at Delhi, on the 4th November 1921, which gives Provincial Committees all the powers necessary to determine upon a resort to civil disobedience of any kind whatever be restored and resolution I clause I passed on the 24th February, to the extent it conflicts with that resolution, be cancelled; provided that general mass civil disobedience is not permissible.

IV. This Committee accepts the recommendation of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee regar-

ding the question of the boycott of British goods and resolves that inasmuch as it is impossible at present to boycott all British goods the question be referred to a Committee for a full report as to what goods may be successfully boycotted and that such report be submitted and circulated before the next Congress meets.

Resolved further that the Congress programme regarding khaddar and the boycott of all foreign cloth shall not be affected by this resolution.

The following gentlemen shall be members of the said Committee :—

Syts. N. C. Sen, J. K. Mehta and N. C. Kelkar.

V. This Committee declares that it is desirable for non-co-operators to seek election to Municipalities and District or Local Boards with a view to facilitate the working of the constructive programme but considers that no hard and fast rules should be at present laid down to regulate or restrict the activities of non-co-operating members beyond advising them to act in harmony with local or provincial Congress organizations.

VI. with reference to the boycott of Government and aided educational institutions this Committee accepts the recommendation of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee, and declares that the boycott of Government and aided educational institutions is sound in principle and that it must be maintained as an ideal to be always kept in view and followed so far as practicable.

This Committee resolves that all active propaganda calling upon boys to come out of schools and colleges be suspended for the present.

This Committee resolves further that without resorting to picketing or other aggressive propaganda reliance should be placed upon the superiority of National schools or colleges for drawing scholars from Government or aided institutions and that in that view every province should be called upon to put the existing National educational institutions on a sound financial basis and to improve their efficiency in every possible way.

VII. This Committee declares in accordance with the recommendation of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee that the boycott of law courts by litigants and lawyers must be maintained as an ideal but having regard to the difficulties which the country has experienced resolves :—

(*a*) That greater effort should be made to establish Panchayats and to cultivate a strong public opinion in their favour.

(*b*) That the right of electors to elect whom they please should not be restricted by any rule and that provinces which have gone beyond the Congress resolution in imposing disabilities upon practising lawyers as such should withdraw those disabilities and put them on the same footing as others who have signed the Congress creed.

(*c*) That the principle of *no defence and no bail* should be followed by non-co-operators accused of offences of a political nature but need not be extended to other cases.

(*d*) That resort to law courts by the parties in civil or criminal cases of a non-political nature should be left to their discretion.

VIII. This Committee is of opinion that the following resolution passed by the Congress at Nagpur should be carried out without further delay and appoints the gentlemen named below to carry out the resolution :—*

"That this Congress is of opinion that Indian labour should be organised with a view to improve and promote their well-being and secure to them their just rights and also to prevent exploitation (1) of Indian labour (2) of Indian resources, by foreign agencies, and that the All India Congress Committee should appoint a Committee to take effective steps in that behalf."

IX. This Committee resolves that individuals should be given full freedom to exercise the right of private defence within the limits defined by law except when carrying on Congress work or on occasions directly arising therefrom, subject always to the condition that it is not likely to lead to a general outburst of violence.

Note :—Using force in private defence in gross cases, such as insults to religion, outrages on the modesty of women or indecent assaults on boys and men is not prohibited under any circumstances

X. Whereas the working of the legislative councils during their first term has, besides proving a serious impediment to the redress of the Khilafat

* No names were mentioned in the Working Committee resolution as this was a draft resolution for the consideration of the A. I. C. C. A Labour Sub-Committee was appointed subsequently by the Gaya Congress,

and Punjab wrongs and the speedy attainment of Swaraj, caused great misery and hardship to the people and whereas it is desirable that steps should be taken in strict accordance with the principles of non-violent non-co-operation to avoid the recurrence of the evil;

It is resolved, with reference to the report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee, that this Committee recommends to the Congress that non-co-operators should contest the elections on the issue of the redress of the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and immediate Swaraj and make every endeavour to be returned in a majority. It is further recommended that in view of the new Councils assembling early in January 1924, the Congress Session of 1923 be held during the first instead of the last week of December, and the matter be again brought up for such final mandate by the Congress as it may under the circumstances deem fit to issue.

XI. Resolved that the application of C. P. Hindustani P. C. C. regarding the Khaddar loan granted last year be forwarded to the Member-in-Charge, All India Khaddar Department, for report.

XII. Resolved that the sum of Rs. 3,00,000 paid to Gujrat by the Trustees, Tilak Swarajya Fund, Bombay, be treated as a grant.

XIII. Resolved that the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee be requested to submit a report explaining why they have not carried out this com-

mittee's resolutions Nos. XXII dated the 6th November 1921 and XXI dated the 15th May 1922.

XIV. Resolved that Pandit Motilal Nehru be requested to put himself in communication with prominent Hindu and Mohammedan gentlemen to form a Reconciliation Committee to adjust the differences between the Hindus and the Mohammedans of Multan.

XV. Resolved that Syt. M. R. Jayaker or, failing him, Pandit Motilal Nehru be appointed to settle the election disputes in C. P. Hindustani and that the decision of either be final.

XVI. Resolved that Messrs. G. B. Deshpande and J. M. Sen Gupta be appointed to settle the election disputes in Berar and that their decision be final.

XVII. Resolved that the Committees appointed to investigate election disputes will have the power to fix such time for the re-elections as may appear to them necessary as the result of their investigation.

XVIII. Resolved that the proposal of Pandit Santanam for preventing the passing off of spurious for genuine khaddar be forwarded to the Member-in-Charge, All India Khaddar Department, for disposal.

XIX. That a Committee consisting of the President and Hakim Ajmal Khan be requested to draw up a scheme for the adjustment of the differences between Hindus and Mussalmans, to be presented for the consideration of the Congress at Gaya,

That the letter of the Cow Preservation League dated the 8th November, 1922, be referred to this Committee.

XX. That Dr. Ansari and Syt. Sopariwala be appointed to go into the question of the Rs. 13,000 claimed by Ajmer Provincial Congress Committee from Mr. G. S. Bhargava and requested to forward their report to this Committee as early as possible.

XXI. Resolved that Rs. 16,000 be sanctioned for the expenses of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee, subject to the accounts being placed before this Committee.

XXII. Resolved that the statement of accounts from 1st May, 1922, to 31st October, 1922, presented by the Treasurer be recorded.

XXIII. That the question of Foreign Propaganda be postponed for consideration by the Subjects Committee at Gaya.

XXIV. Resolved that the recommendations of the Member-in-Charge for Khaddar loans to the Punjab and C. P. Hindustani be circulated to members and placed before the next meeting for consideration.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Gaya on the 22nd December 1922.

I. That a Board consisting of the President, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Hakim Ajmal Khan and a Mohammadan gentleman nominated by Hakim Ajmal Khan be appointed to prepare a scheme for

the settlement of Hindu-Muslim differences, to be placed before the Subjects Committee.

II. Resolved that the full amount of the Guru-Ka-Bagh Inquiry Committee's bills be sanctioned and the General Secretary be requested to examine the vouchers and make such payment as he things fit.

III. That the decisions of Messrs. Deshpande and Sen Gupta on Maharashtra election disputes be recorded and a copy of the same be sent to the P. C. C.

GAYA SESSION, 1922.

The 37th ordinary session of the Indian National Congress was held in Gaya on 26th, 27th, 29th, 30th and 31st, December 1922. Syt. Babu Braj Kishore Prasad was Chairman of the Reception Committee and Deshbandhu C. R. Das was the president of the session.

GAYA SESSION, 1922.

The following resolutions were passed by the Congress at its 37th ordinary session held at Gaya.

I. This Congress places on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the country in the death of Babu Motilal Ghose and offers its condolence to his family.

The late Babu Motilal Ghose.

The Congress has learnt with grief of the death of Babu Ambikacharan Mozumdar, one of its ex-Presidents, and places on record its deep sense of the loss sustained thereby by the country.

The late Babu Ambikacharan Mozumdar.

II. This Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the services of Mahatma Gandhi to the cause of India and humanity by his message of Peace and Truth, and reiterates its faith in the principle of non-violent non-co-operation inaugurated by him for the enforcement of the rights of the people of India.

Tribute to Mahatma Gandhi.

III. This Congress places on record its profound appreciation of the services rendered to the national cause by all those brave citizens, who have suffered in pursuance of the programme of voluntary suffering and who in accordance with the Congress advice, without offering any defence or bail, served or are serving various periods

To Sufferers.

of imprisonment, and calls upon the nation to keep alive this spirit of sacrifice and to maintain unbroken the struggle for freedom.

The Akali Martyrs.

IV. This Congress records with pride and admiration its appreciation of the unexampled bravery of the Akali martyrs and the great and noble example of non-violence set by them for the benefit of the whole nation.

Congratulations to the Turks.

V. This Congress congratulates Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha and the Turkish nation on their recent successes and further records the determination of the people of India to carry on the struggle till the British Government has done all in its power and removed all its own obstacles to the restoration of the Turkish nation to free and independent status, and the conditions necessary for unhampered national life and effective guardianship of Islam, and the Jazirat-ul-Arab, freed from all non-Muslim control.

Boycott of Councils.

VI. Whereas the boycott of Councils carried out during the elections held in 1920 has destroyed the moral strength of the institutions through which Government sought to consolidate its power and carry on its irresponsible rule:

And whereas it is necessary again for the people of India to whithhold participation in the elections of the next year as an essential programme of non-violent non-co-operation:

This Congress resolves to advise that all voters shall abstain from standing as candidates for any of

the Councils and from voting for any candidate offering himself as such in disregard of this advice, and to signify the abstention in such manner as the All India Congress Committee may instruct in that behalf.

Repudiation of Government loans.

VII. Whereas by reason of unjustifiable military expenditure and other extravagance, the Government has brought the national indebtedness to a limit beyond recovery; and whereas the Government still pursues the same policy of extravagance under cover of the authority of the so-called representative assemblies constituted without the suffrage of a majority or any substantial fraction of the voters and despite their declared repudiation of the authority of such assemblies to represent the people:

And whereas if the Government is permitted to continue this policy, it will become impossible for the people of India ever to carry on their own affairs with due regard to the honour and happiness of the people and it has therefore become necessary to stop the career of irresponsibility:

This Congress hereby repudiates the authority of the legislatures that have been or may be formed by the Government in spite of the national boycott of the said institutions in future to raise any loans or to incur any liabilities on behalf of the nation, and notifies to the world that on the attainment of Swarajya the people of India though holding themselves liable for all debts and liabilities rightly or wrongly incurred hitherto by the Government will not hold themselves

bound to repay any loans or discharge any liabilities incurred on and after this date on the authority or sanction of the so-called legislatures brought into existence in spite of the national boycott.

Civil Disobedience.

VIII. This Congress reaffirms its opinion that civil disobedience is the only civilized and effective substitute for an armed rebellion when every other remedy for preventing the arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of authority has been tried.

And in view of the wide-spread awakening of the people to a sense of the urgent need for Swarajya and the general demand and necessity for civil disobedience in order that the national goal may be speedily attained, and in view of the fact that the necessary atmosphere of non-violence has been preserved in spite of all provocation:

This Congress calls upon all Congress workers to complete the preparations for offering civil disobedience by strengthening and expanding the National Organisation and to take immediate steps for the collection of at least Rs. 25 lakhs for the Tilak Swarajya Fund and the enrolment of at least 50,000 volunteers satisfying the conditions of the Ahmedabad pledge by a date to be fixed by the All India Congress Committee at Gaya; and empowers the Committee to issue necessary instructions for carrying this resolution into practial effect.

Note:—The powers of the Provincial Committees under the resolution of the All India Congress Committee passed at Calcutta on the 20th November, 1922, shall not be affected by this resolution.

The Turkish Situation.

IX. In view of the serious situation in the Near East which threatens the integrity of the Khilafat and the Turkish Government and in view of the determination of the Hindus, Mussalmans and all other peoples of India to prevent any such injury, this Congress resolves that the Working Committee do take steps in consultation with the Khilafat Working Committee in order to secure united action by the Hindus, Mussalmans and others, to prevent exploitation of India for any such unjust cause and to deal with the situation.

Boycott of educational institutions.

X. With reference to the boycott of Government and Government aided and affiliated educational institutions, this Congress declares that the boycott must be maintained, and further resolves that every province should be called upon to put the existing national institutions on a sound financial basis and to improve their efficiency in every possible way.

Boycott of Law Courts.

XI. This Congress declares that the boycott of law courts by lawyers and litigants must be maintained and further resolves that greater efforts should be made to establish Punchayets and to cultivate public opinion in their favour.

Right of private defence.

XII. This Congress declares that non-cooperators are free to exercise the right of private defence within the limits defined by law except when carrying on Congress

work or on occasions directly arising therefrom, subject always to the condition that it is not likely to lead to a general outburst of violence.

Note —Using force in private defence in gross cases, *e. g.*, insults to religion, outrages on the modesty of women or indecent assaults on boys and men is not prohibited under any circumstances.

Labour Organizations.

XIII. Whereas this Congress is of opinion that Indian labour should be organised with a view to improve and promote their well-being and secure to them their just rights and also to prevent exploitation of Indian labour and of Indian resources, it is resolved that this Congress, while welcoming the move made by the All India Trade Union Congress and various Kisan Sabhas in organising the workers of India, hereby appoints the following Committee with power to co-opt, to assist the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress for the organisation of Indian labour, both agricultural and industrial:—

1. C. F. Andrews.
2. J. M. Sen Gupta.
3. S. N. Haldar.
4. Swami Dinanath.
5. Dr. D. D. Sathaye.
6. M. Singaravelu Chettiar.

Affiliations.

XIV. This Congress resolves that the Natal Indian Congress Committee, Durban, the British Indian Association, Johannesburg, the British Indian League, Capetown, and the Point Indian Association, Durban, be affiliated, with power to send ten delegates—this number to be allotted amongst themselves by agreement to be reported to the All India Congress Committee.

This Congress resolves that the Kabul Congress Committee be affiliated, with power to send two delegates.

Outgoing General Secretaries.

XV. This Congress places on record its grateful thanks for the valuable services rendered by the out-going General Secretaries, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. M. A. Ansari and Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar.

New Secretaries

This Congress appoints M. Moazzam Ali, Sjt. Vallabhbhai J. Patel and Sjt. Rajendra Prasad as General Secretaries for the next year.

Treasurers.

XVI. This Congress re-appoints Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Seth M. M. H. J. M. Chhotani as Treasurers.

Next Congress.

XVII. This Congress resolves that its next sessions be held in Andhra Desha.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE 1923.

Resolutions passed by the All India Congress Committee at Gaya on the 1st January, 1923.

Working Committee.

I. The following be elected members of the Working Committee:—

1. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.
2. Dr. M A Ansari
3. Mrs Sarojini Naidu
4. Mr. G. B. Deshpande
5. Mr. T. Prakasam.
6. Mr C. Rajagopalachariar
7. Lala Dunichand
8. Babu Braja Kishore Prasad.
9. Sardar Teja Singh Samundri.

Treasurer.

II. The All India Congress Committee appoints Seth Jamnalal Bajaj as the Working Treasurer and authorises him or any other person duly authorised by him in this behalf to operate on deposits of the All India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund in all banks.

Funds and Volunteers.

III. The All India Congress Committee resolves that Rs. 25 lacs be collected for the Tilak Swarajya Fund and 50,000 volunteers be enrolled before the 30th April, 1923, and that the Working Committee be authorised to issue the necessary instructions fixing the quota for the several provinces and take all steps to carry out the resolution, regard being had to the conditions prevailing in each province.

The Working Committee shall have power to act under the Congress resolution regarding the Turkish situation without reference to the date fixed above

and to relax any of the Delhi conditions for civil disobedience, in order to meet any grave emergency that may arise out of the Turkish situation.

Elections.

IV. That all election matters pending now or coming up before the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee be disposed of by the Working Committee.

National Pact.

V. Dr. Ansari be requested to get the scheme of the National Pact prepared and completed for being placed before the Working Committee.

Foreign-cloth Boycott.

VI. The All India Congress Committee earnestly appeals for further vigorous efforts to boycott all foreign cloth and yarn and to spread hand-spinning and hand-weaving in order that the complete economic independence of the nation may be secured and the speedy attainment of Swaraj ensured.

President's resignation.

VII. That the resignation of the President be referred to the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee.

Next meeting.

VIII. That the General Secretaries be authorised to convene the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee at a time and place to be fixed by the Secretaries.

Pending matters.

IX. Resolved that all remaining matters be referred to the Working Committee for disposal or when necessary to be placed before the All India Congress Committee.

Resolutions passed by the All India Congress Committee at Allahabad on the 27th February 1923.

I. Resolved that the following terms of compromise be confirmed and given effect to:—

Terms of the Compromise.

1. Suspension of Council propaganda on both sides till the 30th April.

2. Both parties to be at liberty to work the remaining items of their respective programmes in the interval whitout interference with each other.

3. The majority party will be at liberty to carry on their propaganda in accordance with the Gaya programme about money and volunteers.

4. The minority party will co-operate with the majority party in appealing for and raising such funds and enlisting such workers as may be necessary for the constructive programme and also in working the constructive programme and other common matters.

5. Each party to adopt such course after the 30th April as it may be advised.

6. The above arrangement is subject to the condition that there is no dissolution of the existing councils in any province before the expiry of the full term for which they have been constituted.

II. Resolved that the grateful thanks of this Committee be recorded for the services rendered by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru in effecting the settlement,

Resolutions passed by the All India Congress Committee at Bombay on May 25th, 26th, 27th and 28th 1923.

Council-entry.

I. In view of the fact that there is a strong body of opinion within the Congress in favour of contesting elections to official councils and that the existing division amongst congressmen has already led to a lessening of the influence of the Congress, this committee deems it absolutely necessary that congress men should close up their ranks and present a united front, and it therefore directs that no propaganda be carried on amongst voters in furtherance of resolution 6 of the Gaya Congress relating to the boycott of councils.

The Committee re-assembled after an adjournment, Mr. Das being in the chair as before. The President read out the following letter of resignation signed by 6 members of the Working Committee :—

TO THE CHAIRMAN,

All India Congress Committee meeting.

Dear Sir,

In view of the decision of the All India Congress Committee adopting a resolution of vital importance on which we hold a contrary opinion and which runs counter to the resolution of the Congress we consider it our duty to resign our seats on the Working Committee and such offices as we hold therein which we humbly do.

We remain,
Yours faithfully,
C. Rajagopalachari,
Vallabhbhai J. Patel, (Secretary).
Rajendra Prasad, (Secretary).
Braj Kishore Prasad.
G. B. Deshpande.
Jamnalal Bajaj, (Treasurer).

BOMBAY :
26th May 1923.

The President asked them to reconsider their resignation.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru moved the following resolution which being duly seconded and supported was carried after some discussion :—

Working Committee's resignation not accepted.

II. The committee does not accept the resignations offered by Messrs. C. Rajagopalachari, Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Braj Kishore Prasad, G. D. Deshpande and Jamnalal Bajaj. The committee expresses its confidence in them and requests them to reconsider their resignation.

The committee reassembled after an adjournment. Mr. Moazzam Ali, who had been absent the day before also tendered his resignation. The reply of the members who had tendered their resignation in writing was then read out. It was as follows :—

"We thank you and the members of the All India Congress Committee for asking us to withdraw our resignations but after giving very great consideration to the question again, we regret we still feel that we can not serve on the Working Committee."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and some other members again urged upon the members to reconsider their resignation. Several members favoured the acceptance of the resignation. The resignations however were not withdrawn. Accordingly the following resolution was adopted:—

Resignations accepted.

III. Resolved that the resignations tendered, including the resignation of the President, be accepted.

New Working Committee.

IV. It is resolved that the following office-bearers and members be elected to form the Working Committee :—

1. Dr. Ansari (Chairman).
2. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu
3. Mr. Prakasam. (Secretary).
4. Sardar Tejasingh Samundri.
5. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.
6. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru (Working Secretary).
7. Syt. Purushotamdas Tandon.
8. Dr. Syed Mahmud (Secretary).
9. Syt Virumal Begraj.
10. Pt. K. Santanam.
11. Syt. Velji L. Nappoo.
12. M. Umar Sobani.
13. Syt. Anugrah Narain Singh.
14. Dr. Vardarajalu Naidu.
15. Khwaja Abdul Majid Saheb.

Election disputes.

V. Resolved that a committee consisting of Dr. Murari Lal, M. Shafee, Mr. George Joseph and Prof Kriplani, be appointed to go into the whole question of C. P.

Marathi and Maharashtra election disputes and report to the Committee the next day.

Nagpur Flag Satyagraha.

VI. Resolved that the All India Congress Committee congratulates the volunteers of the Central Provinces on their Satyagraha in defence of the National Flag at Nagpore and calls upon all volunteers throughout India to be ready to join in the struggle when required.

Constuctive Work.

VII. The Committee regrets that the period fixed at Gaya for the collection of money for the Tilak Swarajya Fund and the enrolment of volunteers has expired without the quota for men and money being completed. The Committee are of opinion that in order to carry on Congress work in an effective manner and create a proper atmosphere for the fulfilment of the national programme, it is necessary to have a sufficient number of workers and funds and therefore calls upon all Congress Committees immediately to set about strengthening the Congress organisation and to pursue vigorously during the next two months the work of collection of money for the Tilak Swarajya Fund and the enrolment of volunteers so that the quota allotted to each province may be completed by the end of July next.

C. P. (Marathi) election dispute.

VIII. Resolved that the report of the committee appointed to go into the question of C. P. (Marathi) election dispute be adopted.

IX. Resolved that the report of the committee appointed to enquire into the dispute in the Maharashtra province be adopted.

Maharashtra dispute.

X. Resolved that the question of the condition of the untouchables be referred to the Working Committee for necessary action.

Untouchables.

XI. Resolved that the scheme regarding the National Pact be referred to the Working Committee for completing the draft and circulating the same when completed among members of the A. I. C. C.

National Pact.

Resolutions passed by the All India Congress Committee at Nagpur on the 8th, 9th and 10th July, 1923.

I. The Working Committee is of opinion that the right of nominating members of the All India Congress Committee under the award of Messrs. Deshpande and Sen Gupta applied only to the particular occasion and cannot be construed to override the principle of election for subsequent vacancies. The Committee therefore is of opinion that the four nominations made are invalid and directs the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee to fill the vacancies in accordance with the provisions of Article XIX of the Congress constitution.

Elections to A. I. C. C.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

II. This Committee has heard with deep concern of the illness of Lala Lajpat Rai in Jail and associates itself with the people of the Punjab in the observance of this day (the 9th of July) as the Lajpat Rai day and fervently trusts that he will soon be restored to perfect health.

Nagpur Satyagraha.

III. This Committee records its deep appreciation of the steadfast and determined resistance offered by the brave Satyagrahis in defence of the National Flag at Nagpur. The Committee congratulates the Central Provinces and the other provinces on their splendid response, and desires the Working Committee to take all necessary steps to assist the Nagpur Committee in carrying the campaign to a successful issue.

The committee calls upon the country to observe the next Gandhi Day as the Flag Day and instructs all Provincial Committees to organise Flag processions and public display of the Flag by the people.

Special Session of the Congress called.

IV. (i) In view of the fact that there is a strong desire in some provinces for holding a Special Session of the Congress to consider the question of the boycott of the Councils, and also having regard to the political situation created in the country by the present division in the Congress ranks, this Committee resolves that a Special Session of the Congress be convened at Bombay about the middle of August next.

(ii) This Committee empowers the Working committee to take all necessary action in this behalf.

V. Resolved that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad be elected president of the next special session of the Congress.

Election of President.

A resolution was then moved on behalf of the Working Committee condemning the action of certain provincial committees which had refused to abide by the resolution (No 1) of the A. I C C. passed at Bombay, and proposing disciplinary action in case of further disobedience. After a very prolonged discussion the resolution was lost by 2 votes, 65 voting for it and 67 against it.

On the Committee assembling the next day the president, Dr Ansari, informed the house of the resignation of the members of the Working Committee, including himself. These resignations were after some discussion accepted.

The subject of observing the terms of the Bombay compromise resolution was however re-opened and a discussion took place and the following resolution was adopted —

Observing the Bombay Compromise

VI. Resolved that having regard to the General Secretary's statement in the course of the discussion on the last resolution last night it is necessary for this committee to declare in express terms the adherence to and insistence on, the propriety and the validity of the Compromise resolution passed by this Committee on the 26th of May and this Commitee makes the said declaration.

And this committee further resolves that the attempt of certain Provincial Congress Committees to act contrary to the said resolution is deplorable and this Committee hopes that such conduct as aforesaid will not be persisted in.

Congratulating Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.

VII. This meeting of the All India Congress Committee offers its congratulations to Seth Jamnalal Bajaj on his incarceration for his part in the Satyagraha campaign at Nagpur and assures him of its whole-hearted support of the said campaign.

New Working Committee.

VIII. The following are elected members of the Working Committee:—

(1) Syt. K. Venkatappayya—President
(2) ,, Gopalakrishnayya. } General Secretaries
(3) ,, T. A. Sherwani. } General Secretaries
(4) ,, Rajendra Prasad. } General Secretaries
(5) ,, George Joseph.
(6) Syt. Deshpande.
(7) ,, Vallabhbhai Patel.
(8) ,, Varadarajulu Naidu.
(9) ,, Rajagopalachari.
(10) ,, Md Shafi.

Resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee at Vizagapatam on the 3rd of August, 1923.

The meeting was held under a requisition. The General Secretary read out the following requisition dated Nagpur, July 11, 1923, signed by Syt. C. S. Ranga Iyer and thirty others:—

"In view of the closeness of voting on the resolution of the All India Congress Committee convening a Special Session of the Congress, and special regard being had to the fact that the resolution not being on the agenda of the meeting submitted to the members and published in the press, many members did not attend, we the undersigned hereby requisition a special meeting of the All India Congress Committee to consider the said question at Allahabad or Calcutta within a reasonable time, say a fortnight."

The President then asked if any member wanted to move a resolution in pursuance of the requisition. None coming forward Mr. C. Rajagopalachari moved the following resolution which being duly seconded was carried —

Special Session.

"Resolved that the special session of the Congress as decided on at Nagpur be held as early as possible in September in Bombay. If there be any difficulty with regard to the venue the President is authorised to arrange for the special session being held in any other place."

Resolutions passed by the All India Congress Committee at Delhi on 13th, 15th and 19th Sept. 1923.

Bengal Dispute. Election

I. Resolved that the Bengal dispute be referred for decision to a sub-committee composed of Syt. Konda Venkatappayya, Dr. Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Maulana Mohamad Ali. The Committee

to report their decision to this house by 10 A. M. tomorrow.

Jamkhindi.

II. Resolved that the All India Congress Committee approves of the following resolution of the Working Committee:—

"Resolved that in accordance with the wishes of the Jamkhindi State Committee and the recommendation of the Maharashtra P. C. C., the Jamkhindi State be assigned to the Karnatak P. C. C."

South Mahratta States.

III. Regarding the Southern Mahratta States, resolved that the existing arrangement by which the Kannada and Maharashtra areas thereof are attached respectively to Karnatak and Maharashtra provinces, shall continue without alteration.

[The committee thereafter transformed itself into the Subjects Committee which after finishing its work again resumed the functions of the A. I. C. C. The resolution given below was passed after the Delhi Special Congress.]

Working Treasurer.

IV. Resolved that Seth Reva Shanker Jagjivan Javeri be appointed Working Treasurer and authorised to operate on the accounts of the All India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund.

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WORKING COMMITTEE 1923.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Gaya on the 1st and 2nd January, 1923.

I. Resolved that Syt. Rajendra Prasad be appointed Working General Secretary.

II. That the office of the All India Congress Committee be removed to Patna and the Working General Secretary be authorised to hire a house for the location of the office and to incur necessary expenditure for the same.

III. The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress draws the attention of the country to the resolutions of the Congress passed at Gaya and calls upon all Congress Committees to take immediate steps to carry them out and in particular to take early measures for the collection of Rs. 25 lacs for the Tilak Swarajya Fund, the enrolment of 50,000 volunteers and the strengthening of the national organisation. The Working Committee further appeals to all Provincial Congress Committees to complete the collections and the enrolment of volunteers according to their quota before the 30th April, 1923.

Provided that in the areas where the enrolment of Congress volunteers is now prohibited under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and would in itself

amount to civil disobedience, enrolment shall begin only after fresh instructions from the Working Committee.

That out of all collections for the Tilak Swarajya Fund 5 % be remitted from time to time to the All India treasurer and not less than one-half the amount collected from the 1st January, 1923, be reserved and kept unspent by every Provincial Committee until instructions are issued by this Committee after the 30th April, 1923.

IV. That Mr. Das's statement dated 1st January, 1923, be replied to by the Working Committee by a statement to be drafted by Syts. C. Rajagopalachariar and Rajendra Prasad.

V. With reference to Swami Shraddhanand's resignation, resolved that the remaining members of the Depressed Classes Sub-Committee do form the Committee and Mr. Yajnik be the convener.

VI With reference to the letter of Mr. R. J. Gokhale dated the 16th December 1922, resolved that the copies of the correspondence be sent to Messrs. C. H. Sopariwalla & Co., with a request that they may get the accounts of the old Nagpur Nagar Congress Committee audited.

VII. Mr. J. Mehta's wires were considered and it was resolved that the General Secretary should send a wire to Mr. Mehta asking for an account of expenses already incurred and an estimate of future expenditure.

VIII. With reference to his telegram applying for Rs. 5,000 for Hindi *prachar*, Mr. Harihar Sharma is requested to send an exact statement of funds in his hands and the details of the expenditure every month in the southern provinces.

IX. The C. P. Marathi election disputes are referred to Syt. Deshpande for a consolidated report before the next meeting.

X. The complaint forwarded by the President, C. P. Hindustani P. C. C. regarding the election compromise of the 7th December, 1922, and the elections of the A. I. C. C. members held on the 13th December, 1922, is rejected.

XI. With reference to Mr. S. S. Setlur's letter of the 26th November, resolved that existing Congress Committees may continue to be worked in Native States as hitherto, unless the Provincial Committees concerned decide otherwise with reference to particular circumstances.

XII. Resolved that the next meeting be held at 3 P. M. on Monday the 29th January, 1923, at 183/85, Kalbadevi, Bombay.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Bombay on the 29th, 30th and 31st January and 1st, 2nd and 3rd February, 1923.

I. Budget for Rs. 12,000 for 1923 for the office of the All India Congress Committee was sanctioned.

II. Considered letter from Pt. Motilal Nehru, forwarding copy of a letter from Lala Bodhraj

regarding the relations between the Hindus and Musalmans at Multan. Resolved that in view of the urgency and importance of the question, a deputation consisting of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya do visit Multan in February to bring about a reconciliation between the two parties.

III. Considered various proposed resolutions regarding the affairs in Multan and a telegram from Lala Kewal Kishan. Resolved that Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad be authorised to make a grant for the relief at Multan of a sum up to Rs. 10,000 if they are satisfied as to the necessity thereof and also to make arrangements for its disbursement.

IV. With reference to a telegram of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya intimating his inability to proceed to Multan in this month, February, resolved that Pandit Santanam be requested to communicate with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Malaviyaji and have a suitable date fixed for their visit.

V. Resolved that the 18th March, 1923, being the anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's incarceration should be observed throughout the country as a day of sacrifice and prayer in a fitting manner ; and that the Working Committee calls upon the people of India to observe a peaceful hartal throughout the country on that day. It is further resolved that in places where that day happens to be a New Year's

Day, business should be suspended at least after 12 noon.

That meetings should be held in all places to record the country's determination to carry on the non-violent struggle until its demands are conceded ; and that the whole week from the 10th, the day of Mahatmaji's arrest, to the 18th, the day of his conviction, should be devoted to concentrated efforts for collections for the Tilak Swarajya Fund, enrolment of volunteers and propagation of khaddar.

VI. Babu Rajendra Prasad is authorised to investigate the proposal of placing the custody of Bodh Gaya Temple in Buddhist hands and to make a report to this Committee. Babu Rajendra Prasad is also empowered to co-opt suitable persons in the investigation.

VII. Considered suggested resolutions regarding the position of affairs in East and South Africa and the general situation there:

Resolved that this Committee views with grave concern the development of affairs in East and South Africa and warns the Imperial Government that if they are unable to protect the lives, honour and just rights of Indian citizens in the British Dominions and Colonies, the people of India will be compelled to reconsider their views regarding India's partnership in the Empire. The Working Committee assures the Indians in East and South Africa of its support in their struggle and urges them to carry it on by all legitimate and non-violent means.

VIII. Resolved that Dr. Sathaye be appointed convener of the Labour Sub-Committee and requested to report to this Committee the result of the Sub-Committee's preliminary deliberations and plan of work, if any, fixed upon, and that Rs. 200 be advanced to him for initial expenses.

IX. The General Secretary is requested to call immediately for reports from various provinces as to what steps have been taken to carry out the Congress resolutions. In regard to provinces where work is not carried out by the Provincial Committees, the General Secretary is authorised to take steps (including the authorisation of individuals and committees) in consultation with Dr. Ansari, Mr. Deshpande and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel for carrying out the Congress resolutions.

X. The All India Congress Working Committee congratulates the people of Lahore on their decision to have the Lawrence statue removed as being a standing insult and humiliation to the nation and hopes that they will carry on their struggle in a perfectly non-violent manner and continue it till they achieve success, prepared to make all sacrifices that they may be called upon to make.

XI. Whereas it is necessary for the Indian National Congress to have a central place for office-records, library etc., and whereas the Gandhi Nagar Managing Committee of Delhi offers to the Congress landed property etc. worth Rs. 2 lacs with a

promise of Rs. one lac from Seth Raghumal for the construction of a hall:

It is resolved that the offer be accepted and that the grateful thanks of the nation be offered to the donors.

XII. Regarding Maharashtra election disputes, read letters from Messrs. V. G. Joshi, V. V. Dastane and H. G. Phatak dated 29th Janaury, 1923. Mr. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande explained the arbitration proceedings and award.

Resolved that (*a*) regarding the interpretation of the phrase, "present executive committee" in the award on the Poona Congress committee elections of its own office-bearers and representatives of the Provincial Congress Committee, the Working Committee holds that the phrase "present executive committee" means the committee then holding office at the time, namely, that of which Mr. Phatak was the president.

The procedure followed by the Secretary, Maharashtra C. C. in calling upon Mr. Phatak, the secretary, to hold fresh elections and the elections held in accordance with it of the 28th January were right and proper.

(*b*) Regarding the office bearers and executive committee of the P. C. C. the award must be given effect to and, from and after 31st January 1923, the seats held by the gentlemen named in the award as bound to resign before the date in conformity with

the decision of the Gaya Congress, should be deemed vacant and be filled in by fresh elections.

XIII. Resolved that Messrs. Osman Sobani and Mathuradas Tricamji be requested to take steps to open an employment bureau in Bombay for providing situations for non-cooperating young men and that a sum of Rs. 200 be advanced to them for office expenses in this connection. They are also requested to arrange if possible to open similar bureaus in other important centres in India.

XIV. Resolved that a sum of Rs. 5,000 be granted to the Madras Hindi Sahitya Sammelan for Hindi *prachar* work in the Madras Presidency.

XV. Considered resolution of the Working Committee of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee asking for allotment of one more member of the All India Congress Committee to that province:

Resolved that the Working Committee is unable to increase the number of members returned to the All India Congress Committee by the province of Delhi.

XVI. Resolved that a deputation do tour the country with a view to educate the people on the Congress programme fixed upon at Gaya and that the General Secretary be authorized to draw a sum up to Rs. 5,000 to defray the expenses of the deputation.

XVII. Read scheme proposed by the Khaddar Department regarding hawking service and carding instructors ;

Resolved that the scheme be adopted and a grant of Rs. 3 lacs for the purpose be sanctioned, and that a report of the progress of the scheme be submitted in May next.*

XVIII. Read letter from the Khaddar Department suggesting that Syt. Mathuradas Purushottam be appointed Director of the Production Department in place of Syt. Lakshmidas Purushottam:

Resolved that the suggestion be accepted.

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*The following is the scheme referred to:—

(1) Production of khaddar is greatly hampered for want of prompt or proper demand.

(2) The necessity of a steadfast body of workers, who can stick to this part of Congress work alone is keenly felt, and

(3) Those that want to stick to it, have yet to be offered means for permanent subsistence.

I. To alleviate all these difficulties, I propose to organise through the provinces, a khaddar hawking and home-selling (men and women stocking khaddar in their houses and selling) service, 3,000 men strong, *i. e.* one man for every lac of our total population.

The objective is to sell through these hawkers and home-sellers alone at least one crore of rupees worth of khaddar, throughout the country by the end of this year, and to maintain these workers by selling khaddar at one anna per rupee above its actual cost, and paying that anna to the actual sellers. As an incentive I propose to pay them for the first year, a further remuneration of ten rupees for every five hundred rupees worth of khaddar sold by them which for a total sale of one crore of rupees, would amount to rupees two lacs. I request the Working Committee to sanction this amount as a grant.

II. Khaddar must greatly improve in quality and come down in price, before its use can become universal in our country. The heads of my departments strongly advise me, and I am sufficiently convinced,

(1) That both these improvements can be effected, only in proportion as the number of processes of ginning and carding cotton and weaving yarn are put into the hands of the spinning family, and that again more advantageously, when they have their own cotton, and

(2) That the introduction of home-carding is the first step towards their achievement.

I therefore propose to organise through the provinces, another service of travelling instructors, 600 men strong *i. e.* twenty for every crore of our total population. One instructor can train on an average thirty men and cover about two villages, every month. We can thus finish about ten thousand villages, by the end of this year. This number will be sufficient to enable the industry to spread broadcast in our country of its own accord; and we expect to be free and better equipped, with steadfast hands, to tackle with the remaining processes from the beginning of the next year.

XIX. Resolved that the next meeting of the Working Committee be held at 123-24 Canning Street, (Burra Bazar Congress Committee's office,) Calcutta, between the 18th and 23rd March 1923, the date to be fixed by the General Secretary.

XX. Regarding C. P. Marathi election disputes:

(1) Resolved that the award of Mr. Das as umpire confirming the co-option of members to the Provincial Congress Committee be deemed final.

(2) The arbitrators not having given final awards in respect of the elections of Wardha taluq and Chanda taluq, the Working Committee, taking account of the fact that the objections to the elections held were only technical and in view also of the unanimous opinion recorded by the arbitrators in favour of the relaxation of the rigid application of the rules, resolves that the said elections be upheld and confirmed hereby.

(3) Resolved that the elections in Brahmapuri taluq be also upheld, as no complaint was made in respect of them to the Provincial Congress Committee.

At Rs. 30-each per mensem, the total salary of the instructors will amount to Rs. 2,16,000-for a period of one year. I propose that half the amount be allowed as a grant, to those provinces that bear the remaining half. And for this again I further request the Working Committee to sanction another one lac of rupees.

This sum of three lacs is allotted and earmared for the respective provinces as per detailed statement attached herewith.

Provincial Committees may utilise the grant among wholetime workers chosen out of the volunteers enrolled under the Gaya resolutions, provided that these volunteers are put on whole-time work under this scheme.

Any province prepared to employ more volunteers under this scheme can apply for further allotments to be made out of unspent balances in other provinces.

JAMNALAL BAJAJ,
Member-in-charge.

(4) Resolved that the result of the re-elections held in Arvi, Sakoli. Bhandara and Gondia taluqs be upheld and confirmed.

(5) All elections to the district committees by taluq committees and the Provincial Committee by taluq and dist. Committees are also upheld and confirmed.

(6) All elections by the various taluq and district committees of their office-bearers and members of of the executive committees are also confirmed.

XXI. Certain doubts having been raised as regards the interpretation of the Working Committee's resolution No. 3 dated the 2nd January, 1923, the Committee resolves to make it clear hereby that in spite of the rule that 50 p. c. of the collections should be kept unspent by the respective provinces, the same shall continue to be provincial funds and the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall have full control over the same except for keeping them reserved and unspent till April 30, 1923.

XXII. Resolved that a sum of Rs. 3,000 be granted to the General Secretary, Indian National Social Conference, for the removal of untouchability and the promotion of temperance and inter-communal unity.

XXIII. Resolved that in the collections to be made in big centres like Calcutta, Bombay, Rangoon etc., donors may earmark their subscriptions to the Tilak Swarajya Fund for All-India or provincial funds according to their desire.

XXIV. Resolved that the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee be requested to agree that out of the collections made for the Tilak Swarajya Fund in Bombay in accordance with the Gaya Congress resolution, a sum of not less than 3 lacs be contributed to the All India funds over and above the 5 per cent. quota, provided that if any donations in Bombay be earmarked by donors for All India, the difference only, if any, be made up.

XXV. Read letter of Mr. Godrej dated the 17th January, 1923, suggesting that the interest on his donation of Rs. 3 lacs to the Tilak Swaraj Fund be applied by him to agricutural improvement on the lines of a scheme prepared by him:

Resolved that a copy of Mr. Godrej's letter be sent to the Trustees, T. S. Fund, requesting them to give their opinion on his suggestion and to send necessary information and papers in connection with his donation of Rs. 3 lacs.

XXVI. Considered the letter of Mr. Badrul Hasan and the enclosures: Resolved that the Hyderabad Congress Committee be requested to send a full report at once about the funds advanced to Mr. Badrul Hasan and that the Trustees, T. S. Fund, be requested to send the General Secretary copies of pro-notes taken in this connection. Mr. C. H. Sopariwalla is requested to proceed to Hyderabad to investigate the accounts and make a report.

XXVII. Considered the letter from the Secretary, Delhi P. C. C :

Resolved that in view of thedifficulties represented, the quota of money for the Delhi province be reduced by Rs. 50,000.

XXVIII. The Committee resolved to accept the following proposal of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and authorised him to place it before Deshbandhu Das:—

(a) That both parties should whole-heartedly unite to work the Gaya Congress programme for the next three months.
(b) That there should be no propaganda or talk about any change of the programme in respect of Councils within that period or formation of a new party thereof
(c) That if at the end of that period civil disobedience is decided upon, both parties will continue to work for the same.
(d) That if on the other hand no such step is found possible a special session of the Congress be held in June next to consider the situation.
(e) That for one month before the Congress both parties will be free to educate public opinion according to their views.
(f) That the decision of the Congress will be carried out by both sides without forming separate parties.

XXIX. Regarding the revision of the Working Committee's resolution No. 12 passed at Calcutta a tits sittings held on the 18th, 19th, and 25th November, 1922, asked for by the Secretary of the Tilak Swaraj Fund Trust Committee, the Working Committee after fully hearing Mr. Mathooradas and going through all the relevant papers and connected resolutions and considering all the circumstances of the case, requests the Trust Committee to treat the whole amount of Rs. 3 lacs as a grant to the Gujrat P. C. C.

XXX. With reference to the letter dated 17-1-13, from the Secretary, T. S. F. Trust Commitee resolved that the amount of Rs. 5 lacs be paid to Seth Jamnalal Bajaj on account of the All India Khaddar Department on condition that if the Khaddar Department

be wound up the proportionate amount of the balance then remaining will go back to the Trust Fund.

XXXI. Resolved that a sum of Rs. 1,200 be granted as a special case as aid to the "Navayuga" a Hindi daily paper of Allahabad on condition that it should carry on propaganda in pursuance of the resolutions of the Congress held at Gaya.

XXXII. Resolved that a Publicity Bureau be formed and steps be taken for publishing the Congress Bulletin in order to carry out the policy and programme laid down by the Congress and to do Congress propaganda, and the General Secretary be authorised to incur an expenditure up to Rs. 10,000 for the purpose.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Allahabad on the 26th and 28th February, 1923.

I. Resolved that either of the following drafts marked (1) and (2) might be agreed to as the new party might prefer:—

(1) (*i*) Both parties while adhering to their respective opinions agree to suspend their differences and jointly work the programme as laid down at Gaya.

(*ii*) There should be no propaganda by either party concerning Council election till the end of April.

(*iii*) The All India Congress Committee will meet before the end of May and if in view of the situation at the time it decides to undertake individual civil disobedience on a large scale, both parties will join in such civil disobedience and there will be no special session of the Congress.

(*iv*) If, however, the All India Congress Committee declares against such civil disobedience both parties will thereafter be free to educate public opinion according to their views.

(*v*) If the All India Congress Committee, to be convened before the 31st May, declares against such civil disobedience, a special session of the Congress should meet about the end of June.

(*vi*) The All India Congress Committee meeting in May will provide satisfactory machinery for the disposal of disputes regarding the election of delegates in a fair and impartial manner.

(*vii*) The decision of the special session will be loyally carried out by all parties and there will be no separate organisations for taking action contrary to that decision.

(2) (*i*) Suspension of Council propaganda on both sides till the 30th April.

(*ii*) Both parties to be at liberty to work the remaining items of their respective programmes in the interval without interfering with each other.

(*iii*) The majority party will be at liberty to carry on their propaganda in accordance with the Gaya programme about money and volunteers.

(*iv*) The minority party will co-operate with the majority party in appealing for and raising such funds and enlisting such workers as may be necessary for the constructive programme and also in working the constructive programme and other common matters.

(*v*) Each party to adopt such course after the 30th April as it may be advised.

II. Resolved that Pandit Motilal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Abdul Majid, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani and Mr. Moazzam Ali be requested to visit the Punjab jointly or in convenient groups, and help to remove difficulties in the way of national work.

III. Resolved that Mr. J. M. Mehta be requested to give effect to the award as from the 31st January, 1923, and to recognise the elections held in accordance with the award on the 18th February at Poona.

IV. Resolved that the office-bearers and executive committee of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee elected on the 18th February at Poona be recognised as such, and that they be authorised to draw from the funds of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee in the hands of the Treasurer and carry on all its affairs.

V. Resolved with reference to letter No. 30 dated the 29th January, 1923, from the Treasurer,

Tilak Swarajya Fund, that the All India quota should be paid as calculated on the collections without deducting expenses of collection.

VI. Read letter from the President Tamil Desh Provincial Congress Committee, drawing attention to resolution No. 13 of this Committee, dated the 15th May, 1922, and stating that Rs. 10,000 have been set apart by the Provincial Committee for Depressed Classes work.

Resolved that the amount resolved already be recommended to be paid to the Tamil Desh Congress Committee by the Trustees, T. S. F., Bombay.

VII. Read letter from Mr. E. Raghavendra Rao and Mr. Chhedilal, dated the 28th February, 1923, and a telegram from Mr. Ravishankar Sukla and heard Mr. Durga Shanker Mehta, Mr. Jatar, Mr. Sunderlal and Mr. Khandekar.

Resolved to refer the letter to the C. P. Hindustani Provincial Working Committee with the opinion that the elections to the Jubbulpur District Congress Committee should have been held on the 1922 register and that, therefore, there should be a re-election to the Jubbulpur Committee as well as of representatives from that district to the C. P. H. Provincial Congress Committee. Till the re-elections are finished, the members of the Jubbulpur District Congress Committee and the representatives from that District to the Provincial Congress Committee elected in January, 1923, should hold office and all acts and proceedings should be valid. The re-elec-

tions may be held as early as possible after April 30th 1923, on such dates as the provincial working committee may decide.

In the re-elections it would be convenient and desirable that all those Congress members that were enrolled in 1922 as well as those that may be enrolled in 1923 up to a convenient date before the re-elections shall take part. The Provincial Congress Committee shall issue specific instructions in the matter to remove all doubt.

Resolved further that the C. P. (Hindustani) P. C. C. be informed that the constitution of the Provincial Congress Committee shall be worked according to Art. VI of the Congress constitution and that resolutions of conferences should in future be treated as recommendations and be adopted, modified or rejected according as the P. C. C. may decide; that notwithstanding the above resolution, nothing done hitherto shall be deemed invalid or open to dispute, including the changes adopted at the Betul Conference, which are in substance not inconsistent with the Congress constitution or unfair, until the same are cancelled or modified by the P. C. C.

VIII. Read letter dated 14th February, 1923, from Dr. B. S. Moonje, President, C. P. Marathi Provincial Congress Committee. Resolved that the President, C. P. M. P. C. C. be requested to give effect, without any further delay, to all the resolutions passed by this Committee in its sessions held at

Bombay from the 29th January, to the 3rd February, 1923, already communicated, no further resolution of the P. C. C. being necessary thereon.

IX. Resolved that in view of the difficulties in the C. P. Marathi province in carrying out the Gaya programme, the following gentlemen be authorised to collect the Tilak Swarajya Fund and enlist volunteers and incur necessary expenses in connection therewith. The money collected should be deposited with Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and accounts kept and rendered by him to this Committee, monies so collected earmarked by the donors for any particular institutions may be spent for them; otherwise no expenditure should be incurred except with the sanction of this Committee:—

1. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.
2. Syt. Vinobaj Bhave.
3. Syt. Nilkant Rao Deshmukh.
4. Syt. Ganpat Rao Tikekar.
5. Syt. Bhagwandinji.

Seth Jamnalal Bajaj to be treasurer, convener and correspondent in respect of this Committee.

This arrangement is temporary and is made in order to push on work in the province with greater vigour and shall not interfere with the work of the Provincial Congress Committee or their responsibility in carrying out the Gaya programme.

X. (*a*) Read letter from Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Secretary, U. P. P. C. C. Resolved that a loan of Rs. 15,000 be advanced to the U. P. P. C. C., to be repaid before the end of May, 1923.

(*b*) Received letter from Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, President, Tamil Desh Provincial Congress

Committee: Resolved that a loan of Rs. 15,000 be advanced to Tamil Desh P. C. C., to be repaid before the end of May next.

XI. Read letter from Mr. J. B. Kripalani, Director, Gandhi Ashram, Benares:

Resolved that a sum of Rs. 5,000 be granted to the U. P. P. C. C., earmarked for the said ashram.

XII. Read report of Mr. Sopariwalla regarding the account of Mr. Badrul Hassan. Resolved that the Hyderabad Committee be requested to send an early report as desired by this Committee in its previous resolution.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Poona on the 17th April, 1923.

Syt. C. Rajagopalachariar and Syt. Rajendra Prasad explained the proposals made by Deshbandhu Das in the conversations held at Lahore namely that

(*i*) The work of the Congress should be divided into separate departments, each being placed in charge of a particular class of workers, ability and the like. Persons interested in particular departments should be entrusted with work in those departments.

(*ii*) That a sum of Rs. 5 to 6 crores be collected to finance the various departments so created and thus,

(*iii*) A common platform should be provided for all:

I. The Committee having considered this proposal is unanimously of opinion that it cannot recommend this proposal to the All-India Congress Committee, as it is impracticable, and in regard to the abandonment of the boycott of the councils, contrary to the decisions of the Congress.

II. Read telegram from Messrs. Das, Nehru, Ajmal Khan, and Azad and Mrs. Naidu suggesting

a meeting of the Working Committee at Allahabad on the 20th or 21st of April to consider the Punjab situation and possibilities of united action in future Congress work; read also other telegrams in this connection:

The Committee, in view of the importance of putting forth all effort to fulfil the Gaya Congress programme within the time fixed and in view further of the fact that any meeting of the Working Committee before the 30th of April will dislocate all work in the country in that direction by withdrawing members from their respective provinces, authorises Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar to proceed to the Punjab and, in consultation with other members of the Working Committee and leaders present there, to take such steps as may be considered necessary in view of the situation, provided that they are not inconsistent with any resolution of the Congress, and if any further consultation with the Working Committee be necessary, to consult it by circulation or to call a special meeting of the Working Committee, if unavoidable.

III. This Committee congratulates the C. P. Hindustani Working Committee on the brave stand they have taken in defence of the National Flag.

IV. This Committee congratulates those who have suffered assault and imprisonment in defence of the National Flag in Nagpur and, in special, congratulates them on their exemplary non-violence in the face of provocation.

V. Resolved that the next meeting of the Working Committee be held at Bombay on the 23rd of May.

VI. Resolved that the All-India Congress Committee be convened to meet at Bombay on the 25th of May.

VII. The All-India Working Committee of the Indian National Congress desire to put on record their gratitude to Mr. C. F. Andrews for having agreed at this critical juncture in the nation's history to help and advise the Indian deputation from the Kenya colony and to give them his moral support. The Committee trusts that by his truly Christian conduct, he will be able to prevent the most serious blow being dealt at Christianity itself by missionaries who are reported to be lending support to the European opposition to rightful Indian claims. The information received by the Committee concerning the missionary attitude in Kenya is hardly believable and the Committee note with satisfaction that the National Council of the Indian Christian Church has repudiated it. The Committee desire further to reaffirm with regard to the Kenya question the resolution previously passed by them stating that it will be necessary for the Congress to reconsider the question of the Imperial connection if the rightful claims of Indians to equal status as citizens of the Empire are finally refused.

VIII. With reference to the letter of Dr. P. C. Ghosh dated 13-4-23, resolved that the undermen-

tioned sums collected in Calcutta by Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Syt. Vallabhbhai Patel and earmarked by the donors for particular objects be placed at the disposal of the Bengal P. C. C., to be utilised as desired by the donors, and Seth Jamnalal Bajaj be requested to remit them as they are realised:—

The "Servant".....Rs. 6,000
National Workers in Bengal through Syt. P. C. Ghosh Rs. 14,000
Dacca National College.....Rs. 5,000
Calcutta National Medical College.....Rs. 5,000

IX. Resolved with reference to Pandit Motilal Nehru's letter to the Treasurer dated 6-3-23, that Mr. Lalji Mehrotra, who was for some time in charge of the Civil D. E. Committee's accounts, be requested to complete the accounts of the committee and submit the same to this Committee as early as possible.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Bombay on the 23rd, 24th, 25th, 27th and 28th May 1923.

I. The resignations of Mr. Thakurdas Gupta (U.P.) and Mr. Kusuma Ramaiah (Andhra) from the A. I. C. C. were accepted. The resignation of Mr. Mathuradas Tricumji as member of the Employment Bureau was accepted and it was resolved that this Committee requests Mr. Osman Sobani to co-opt another gentleman to help him in the work of the Employment Bureau.

II. Considered the report of Mr. Sopariwalla and the resolution of the Hyderabad committee regarding

khaddar work in Hyderabad, with other connected papers.

Resolved that in the opinion of this committee it is desirable that khaddar work in Hyderabad should be continued and that Mr. Badrul Hassan be placed in charge thereof under the supervision of the All India Khaddar Department and accordingly requests the Hyderabad committee to make over the monies in their possession to Mr. Badrul Hassan.

III. Resolved that the Working Committee be authorised to take steps for the convening of a special session of the Indian National Congress to consider the present political situation provided that Deshbandhu Das and his party agree to abide by the decision arrived at therein, in which case the Working Committee is further authorised to exercise all the powers of the All India Committee in regard to convening of such special session.

IV. The report and the recommendation of the All India Khaddar Department for khaddar loans to Ajmere, Punjab and C. P. Hindustani were considered. It was resolved that a copy of the letter of Mr. Jatar with enclosures be forwarded to Mr. Shyam Sunder Bhargava and he be requested to make over charge of the khadi work to the All India Khaddar Department.

V. Considered the recommendation of the Khaddar Department to advance a loan of Rs. 5 lacs to the Gujrat Provincial Congress Committee to relieve the

surplus stock of khadi in various provinces in the country: resolved that a loan of 5 lacs may be advanced on such conditions as the All India Khadi Department thinks necessary. That the Gujarat Khadi Vibhag do make purchases from other provinces only after consulting the Provincial Congress Committees or their khadi departments as regards the local needs and ability to dispose of the stock locally. That the payment of one lac out of this loan of 5 lacs already made by the Khaddar Department be ratified.

VI. Considered the recommendation of the Khaddar Department for grant of loan of one lac to the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee. Resolved that the loan be advanced on such terms and conditions and paid in such instalments as the Khaddar Department may determine.

VII. Considered application from U. P. P. C. C. for loan for khadi work. Resolved that the application be referred to the Khaddar Department.

VIII. Considered the application for loan from the Bengal P. C. C. for khadi work and considered the recommendation of the member-in-charge. Resolved that a loan of Rs. 50,000 be advanced to Bengal for khadi work subject to the same conditions as in the case of Tamil Nadu.

IX. In view of the Nagpur Satyagrah Campaign and in case Seth Jamnalalji is incapacitated to give

time to the Khaddar Department, Syt. Maganlal Gandhi be appointed in his place.

X. Resolved that the following resolution be placed before the All India Congress Committee: "Resolved that the A. I. C. C. congratulates the volunteers of the Central Provinces on their Satyagrah in defence of the National Flag at Nagpur and calls upon all volunteers throughout India to be ready to join in the struggle when required."

XI. Considered a letter from the Sind P. C. C. asking for a grant of Rs. 20,000 to enable them to pay off their dues to the All India Congress Committee and to reorganise their finances: resolved that the application be considered at the next meeting.

XII. Considered application from Behar P. C. C. for a grant of Rs. 25,000 for the Behar Rashtriya Vidyalaya: resolved that Rs. 15,000 be granted.

XIII. Considered application from Satyavadi Vidyalaya for a grant. Resolved that the Bombay T. S. F. Trustees be requested to make a grant upto Rs. 10,000 for the institution. Resolved further that in case the trustees do not see their way to make the recommended grant, Rs. 5,000 be granted out of the funds of the A. I. C. C.

XIV. Considered application from Swawalamban Rashtriya Pathshala for a grant: resolved that a sum upto Rs. 5,000 be granted to be paid in such instalments as the general secretary thinks fit.

XV. Considered a letter from Mr. Abidali, secretary of the special committee appointed by the Working Committee for raising money and enrolling volunteers in the C. P. Marathi province: resolved that this special committee be authorised to draw upon funds collected by them to meet the expenditure in connection with the Satyagrah campaign at Nagpur. The said committee is authorised to co-opt members and to appoint substitutes in places of members disabled from working or carrying on the work.

XVI. Resolved that out of the sum of Rs. 50,000 paid by Burma and earmarked for the support of families whose members are incarcerated for Civil Disobedience, the Nagpur Special Committee be authorised to draw a sum upto Rs. 5,000 for the said purposes in connection with the Satyagrah campaign there.

XVII. Considered the resolution of the Bombay P. C. C. recommending that out of the sum of 5 lacs earmarked and handed over to the A. I. C. Khaddar Dept. a sum of Rs. 2½ lacs be set aside and the interest thereof be given to the National Muslim University of Aligarh upto 18th March 1925 and that the corpus of 2½ lacs be kept intact in the hands of the A. I. C. C. Dr. M. A. Ansari explained that the Muslim University deputation, on learning that the proposed grant to it was to be made out of the monies already paid to the All India Khaddar Department, withdrew its application to the

Bombay P. C. C. Resolved that the Working Committee is unable to accept the recommendation.

XVIII. Read the skeleton draft of the Indian National Pact drafted by Deshbandhu Das, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari. Resolved that Dr. Ansari and Mrs. Naidu should take steps to fill in the details to make a complete draft in consultation with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Maulana Kifayatullah ; the draft when completed should be placed before the Working Committee for circulation to representative bodies for their opinion.

[The Working Committee resigned on the 26th May and a new Working Committee was elected by the A. I. C. C. on the 27th May. The resolutions which follow were passed by the new committee.]

XIX. Read correspondence on the subject of the Punjab Relief Fund. Resolved that the Secretary should enquire from Pandit Parsuram Sharma and other gentlemen concerned about the accounts and also that Pandit Parsuram Sharma be asked to send a copy of the accounts in his possession.

XX. Read letters from Berar P. C. C. and Mr. Dastane regarding earmarked donations. Resolved that the resolution of this Committee requiring P. C. Cs. to keep 50 per cent. of T. S. Fund collection in reserve does not apply to donations earmaked for a specific purpose.

XXI. Read letter of secretary Ghatpoker Village Congress Committee on the subject of contributions to P. C. C. and D. C. C. out of earmarked donations. Resolved that in case of donations earmarked for

particular objects the A. I. C. C. as well as P. C. C. and D. C. C. are not entitled to get their share.

XXII. Read letter of the Secy. Bombay P. C. C. regarding the balance of money of the old Provincial Congress Committee. Resolved that the Bombay P. C. C. be asked to transfer the balance referred to in this correspondence to the Trrasurer A. I. C. C. for settlement of the shares of other P. C. Cs.

A copy of the above resolution be forwarded to the Secretary Maharashtra P. C. C.

XXIII. Read a letter from Maharashtra P.C.C. regarding certain election disputes—Resolved that Dr. Mahmud be requested to enquire and report to the next meeting of the Working Committee.

XXIV. Read the correspondence regarding A. I. C. C. dues from U. P. P. C. C. and considered the report of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Mr. Patel: resolved that the U. P. P. C. C. should be called upon to pay Rs. 15,500, being the share of the All India Congress Committee dues from the U. P. Committee.

XXV. Read telegram from Prof. Ruchiram Sahni about Guru-ka-Bagh Enquiry Committee's report. Resolved that the Committee regret to note the extreme delay on the part of the members of the enquiry committee in the submission of the report and request them to submit the report as early as possible.

XXVI. Resolved that Sèth Jamnalal Bajaj be requested to continue to remain in charge of the All

India Khaddar Dept. and carry on all the work connected with it as heretofore.

XXVII. Resolved that the office of the A.I.C.C. be removed to Allahabad.

XXVIII. Considered the reference from the Treasurer of the A. I. C. C. regarding the dues of the Gaya Reception Committee. Resolved that the Reception Committee is liable to pay half of the entire sum received by it under the head "Delegation fee."

XXIX. Resolved that the following resolution be recommended to the All India Congress Committee :—

"This Committee regret that the period fixed at the Gaya Congress for the collection of money for the Tilak Swarajya Fund and the enrolment of volunteers has expired without the quota for men and money being completed. The Committee are of opinion that in order to carry on Congress work in an effective manner and create a proper atmosphere for the fulfilment of the national programme, it is necessary to have a sufficient number of workers and funds, and therefore call upon all Congress Committees immediately to set about strengthening the Congress organisation and to pursue vigorously during the next two months the work of collection of money for the Tilak Swarajya Fund and the enrolment of volunteers so that the quota allotted to each province may be completed by the end of July next."

XXX. The Committee prepared a statement dealing with the circumstances in which they had taken office. Resolved that this statement be issued to the press.

XXXI. Considered the draft resolution regarding untouchables and the depressed classes referred to the Working Committee by the A. I. C. C.

Resolved that while some improvement has been effected in the treatment of the so called untouchables in response to the policy of the Congress this Committee is conscious that much work remained yet to be done in this respect and in as much as this question of untouchability concerns the Hindu community particularly, it requests the All India Hindu Mahasabha also to take up this matter and to make strenous efforts to remove this evil from amidst the Hindu community.

XXXII. Considered the question of the National Pact referred to the Working Committee by the All India Congress Committee. Resolved that the draft of the National Pact be referred to the President and Working Secretary for necessary additions and alterations in consultation with such other gentlemen as are interested in the matter.

XXXIII. At the request of the Committee Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Sjt. Mathuradas Purshottamdas explained the working of the All India Khaddar Department. The Committee thanked them and

recorded their appreciation of the work being done by the department.

XXXIV. Considered the scheme prepared by Dr. Sathaye about labour organisation. Resolved that the said scheme be circulated among the members of the Working Committee. Resolved further that meanwhile a sum of Rs. 5,000 should be placed at the disposal of Dr. Sathaye for carrying on such work as the Congress Labour Committee decides.

XXXV. Read the letter dated the 23rd February, 1923, from the Barra Bazar District Congress Committee Calcutta protesting against the decision of the Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee regarding earmarked donations. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj kindly explained the facts. Resolved that the Committee regret that they do not see any sufficient reason for reversing their former decision.

XXXVI. Read correspondence on the subject of Jubbulpore Satyagrah and heard Mr. Tajuddin on the subject. Resolved that the Working Committee is not in possession of sufficient information to enable it to advise on any definite action. The general secretary is requested to make enquiries on the subject.

XXXVII. Considered the letter of Mr. Godrej on the subject of his agricultural scheme. Resolved that he be requested to send a detailed account of his scheme to the Working Committee for consideration.

XXXVIII. Considered the application of Syt. Brajaraj requesting a grant of Rs. 20,000 from the trustees of the Bombay Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund for the propagation of Hindustani in Madras.

Resolved that the Working Committee recommend to the trustees the above application for favourable consideration.

XXXIX. Resolved that Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Seth Chhotani be requested to hand over charge to Messrs. Umar Sobani and Velji L. Nappoo, the new treasurers of the Congress:

Resolved that Messrs. Velji Lakhamsi Nappoo and Umar Sobani, treasurers of the Congress, are hereby empowered to operate on or close the accounts already opened in the banks in the name of the All India Congress Committee and the All India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund and to open and operate on the account or accounts with a bank or banks to be selected by them in consultation in the name of the All India Congress Committee or the All India Tilak Swarajya Fund, under their signatures, either jointly or severally.

Resolved further that Mr. Velji L. Nappoo be appointed Working Treasurer.

XL. Resolved that the members of the Working Committee attending meetings of the Committee are entitled to their actual travelling expenses.

XLI. Resolved that a sum not exceeding Rs. 100 per month be sanctioned for a personal assistant

for the President and a sum not exceeding Rs. 200 a month for an additional Assistant Secretary for the All India Congress Committee Office.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Nagpur on the 7th, 8th, 11th and 12th July 1923.

I. The following resignations were accepted and the election of substitutes in their places noted:—

1. Syt. Ganpat Sahai.—M. Rafi Ahmad elected in his place.
2. Swami Narasinghdeo Saraswati.
3. Syt. G. V. Yalgi.—Srimati Indumatibai Naik elected in his place.
4. Mr. S. E. Stokes.—Sardar Auatar Singh elected in his place.
5. Syt. Hiranand Karamchand.—Sheikh Abdul Majid elected in his place.
6. Dr. Chamandas Isardas.—Syt. Hiranand Karamchand elected in his place.

II. Read letter from the president, Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee dated 27th June 1923. Resolved that for the present and pending further enquiry the four gentlemen nominated by the president may not be considered as members but as visitors at the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee.

The Committee decided to propose the following resolutions for adoption by the All India Congress Committee:—

III. This Committee has heard with deep concern of the illness of Lala Lajpat Rai in jail and associates itself with the people of the Punjab in the observance of this day (July 9th) as the Lajpat Rai Day and fervently trusts that he will soon be restored to perfect health.

IV. In view of the fact that there is a strong desire in some provinces for holding a special

session of the Congress to consider the question of the boycott of the Councils, and also having regard to the political situation created in the country by the present division in the Congress ranks, this committee resolves that a special session of the Congress be convened at Bombay about the middle of August next.

This Committee empowers the Working Committee to take all necessary action in this behalf.

Note:—This Committee also decides that in case a special session is convened, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad be proposed for the presidentship.

V. This Committee deplores the attitude of some Provincial Congress Committees in defying the authority of the All India Congress Committee by passing resolutions expressing their intention to disobey the Bombay resolution of the All India Committee. This attitude is not only subversive of all discipline but is calculated to break up the Congress organisation and, if persisted in, will compel the Committee to take disciplinary action.

VI. This Committee records its deep appreciation of the steadfast and determined resistance offered by the brave Satyagrahis in defence of the National Flag at Nagpur. The Committee congratulates the Central Provinces and the other provinces on their splendid response and desires the Working Committee to take all necessary steps to assist the Nagpur Committee in carrying the campaign to a successful issue.

This Committee calls upon the country to observe the next Gandhi Day as the Flag Day and instructs all Provincial Committees to organise Flag processions and public displays of the flag by the people.

VII. Considered the question of Maharashtra nominations and heard Mr. Paranjape:

Resolved that the Working Committee is of opinion that the right of nominating members of the All-India Congress Committee given under the award of Messrs. Deshpande and Sen-Gupta applied only to the particular occasion and cannot be construed to override the principle of election for subsequent vacancies. The Committee therefore is of opinion that the four nominations made are invalid and directs the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee to fill the vacancies in accordance with the provisions of Art. XIX of the Congress Constitution.

[The Working Committee resigned on the 10th July and a new Working Committee was elected by the A. I. C. C on that day. The resolutions that follow were passed by the new Working Committee.]

VIII. Read letter from Mr. M. N. Padwekar No. G. S. K-285 dated the 29th June, 1923, and resolution No. 9 of the Working Committee held at Bombay on the 24th May 1923 :—

Resolved that the charge of the Khaddar Department be directed to be handed over immediately to Syt. Maganlal K.Gandhi who shall have full authority and power to manage the said department as hitherto done by Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and to operate the

accounts standing in the name of that department in any bank as well as the fixed deposits standing in the name of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, member-in-charge, All India Congress Khaddar Department.

Resolved further that Syt. Maganlal K. Gandhi be appointed acting member-in-charge, All India Congress Khaddar Department.

IX. Read letter from the Secretary, T. S. Fund, ombay, dated the 9th June, 1923, regarding the application of Syt. Brajaraj, Secretary, Hindi Sahitya Sammelan for a grant of Rs. 20,000 for the work of teaching Hindustani in the Madras Presidency and connected correspondence:

Resolved that the Working Committee recommend that the full amount of Rs. 20,000 be granted and paid.

X. That an appeal be issued to the Press by telegram to carry out the All India Congress Committee's resolutions regarding the observance of the Flag Day.

XI. Read letter from the President and Secretary, C. P. Hindustani Provincial Congress Committee dated the 7th July 1923 :—

Resolved to make a grant of Rs. 2,000 to the C.P. Hindustani Provincial Congress Committee to be utilized for general Congress purposes with special regard to rendering help to Satyagraha in Nagpur. Any further application for grant will have to be recommended by the All India member in charge of Nagpur Satyagraha.

XII. Resolved to send copy of the resolution of the All India Congress Committee regarding the special session of the Congress to the Provincial Congress Committee, Bombay, and to request the said Committee to take steps for the holding of a special session of the Congress in accordance with the resolution of the All India Congress Committee. Their attention should be drawn to the last paragrap of Art. VIII of the Congress constitution so that a date may be advertised early to enable the return of the list of the delegates from all provinces in accordance with that provision to reach the Reception Committee.

XIII. Resolved that Syt. Vallabhbhai Patel do arrange to be in the Central Provinces (C. P. Marathi, Hindustani and Berar) on behalf of the Working Committee with full powers to guide and control the Nagpur National Flag Satyagraha and do take such steps as may be necessary to secure adequate assistance from outside. Resolved further that Rs. 2,000 be placed at his disposal for contingent expenses.

XIV. Read letter from the Liquidator India Newspaper Co., dated 16th April 1923: Resolved that the names and addresses be published in the "Bombay Chronicle" and the "Servant," also that the matter may be referred to the Provincial Congress Committees concerned for informing the claimants. In respect of the South African claimants, information may be sent to Mr. P. K. Naidu, Secretary, British Indian Association, Johannesburg.

XV. Resolved that the sum of £. 5-1-10 standing to the credit of the Congress with the British Committee may be handed over to Mr. J. M. Parekh in order that he may meet any contingent expenses on our behalf. Resolved further that Mr. Parekh be written to that the library and the important books of account, papers etc. may be sent to the General Secretary, Indian National Congress, c/o Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.

XVI. Read letters dated the 6th July 1923 from Syt. Waman Gopal Joshi and others relating to Berar election disputes and that dated the 6th July, 23 from Syt. K. D. Varhadpande and Kesava Waman regarding disputes about election to the Amraoti District Congress Committee, Ellichpur Taluk Congress Committee and Dhamangaon Circle Congress Committee and about rule No. 15, of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee relating to new elections: Resolved that Syt. D. Gopalakrishnayya go to Amraoti and hear all parties and place the matters before the president Syt. Venkatappayya and see to the issue of immediate orders, either provisional or final.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Vizagapatam on the 2nd and 3rd and at Nagpur on the 6th, 7th and 8th of August, 1923.

I. Minutes of the meetings held on the 7th, 8th, 11th and 12th, July at Nagpur mere confirmed.

II. Resolved that the following resolutions be placed before the All India Congress Committee meeting tomorrow:—

Resolved that the special session of the Congress decided on at Nagpur be held as early as possible in September in Bombay. If there be any difficulty with regard to the venue, the president is authorised to arrange for the special session being held at any other place.

III. The decision of the British Government on the Kenya question having made it clear that it is not possible for India to have an equal and honourable place in the British Empire, the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress is of opinion that there should be a solemn demonstration throughout India to mark the event. The Committee therefore resolves that there shall be a peaceful hartal throughout India on the 26th of August. There shall be meetings everywhere on that day at which resolutions should be passed calling upon the people to abstain from participation in the British Empire Exhibition, the Imperial Conference, the Empire Day celebrations and all other imperial functions. In view of the unanimous expression of opinion by the representatives of all political views on the far-reaching issues involved, the Committee hopes that everyone will join in the demonstration and meetings irrespective of differences of opinion in respect of other matters.

IV (*a*) Resolved that, in view of the special financial condition of Utkal province and the absence of their leaders in prison, a grant of Rs. 5,000 be made to Utkal for general work.

(*b*) Resolved that the Trustees, Bombay T. S. F. be requested to pay this amount out of their funds as well as the balance of Rs. 5,000 out of the Rs. 10,000 granted to the Satyavadi school.

V. With reference to the complaint that no instalment has been paid in pursuance of resolution No. V of the Working Committee dated the 24th of May, 1923, the member-in-charge is requested to expedite payment of the first instalment.

VI. Read letter of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee dated the 23rd of July, 1923 : Resolved that the expenses for Nagpur Satyagraha may be met out of the 50% reserve.

VII. Read letter of U. P. P. C. C. dated the 14th of June, 1923: In view of the expenses to be incurred in sending volunteers to Nagpur the U. P. Committee is advised not to invest in khaddar the 50% reserve.

VIII. Read Pandit Santanam's report of repression.

IX. Read letter dated June 20, from the Gandhi Nagar Managing Committee, Delhi: Resolved that the letter be referred to the Delhi Congress Committee for report and recommendations.

X. Read telegrams regarding floods in South Canara :

Resolved that Syt. Deshpande be requested to inquire and make a report which will be considered at the next meeting. Should Mr. Deshpande consider immediate help necessary, the Karnatak P. C. C. will meet the requirements of the situation on this Committee's behalf.

XI. Read letter dated 23-7-23 of Syt. Gokhale and others asking for a donation of Rs. 50,000 for the Tilak Mahavidyalaya, Poona. Resolved that the letter be referred to the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Comittee for report.

XII. Read letter from Mr. Taraknath Das dated May 15, 1923 : The Secretary to cable for a copy of the U. S. Supreme Court's judgment.

XIII. Read the draft of the Indian National Pact and resolved that it be referred to Syt. George Joseph for report.

XIV. Resolved that applications for grants be taken at the next meeting.

XV. Read letter from the General Secretary, Reception Committee, Nagpur, dated the 22nd of June, 1923 and connected papers and resolutions: Resolved that the balance of Rs. 16,550 lying with the Nagpur Congress Reception Committee be immediately called for, irrespective of expenditure incurred subsequent to the Working Commitee's resolution No. VIII dated the 21st of September, 1922.

Further resolved that the C. P. Marathi P. C. C. is requested to ascertain and communicate immediately definite answers to the following questions relating to the unpaid A. I. C. C's share of the delegates' fees of the Nagpur Congress:—

(i) Why the A. I. C. C's share of the delegates' fees was not set apart within two weeks according to Article XVII?

(ii) Whether the accounts were submitted to the P. C. C. in accordance with Article XV and if so what steps the P. C. C. took in regard to the securing of the payment to the A. I. C. C. of the above sum. If accounts were not so sent, what steps the P. C. C. took about it?

(iii) Whether resolution No. VIII dated the 21st of September 1922 of the Working Committee was fully given effect to including handing over the materials to Seth Jamnalal Bajaj; if not, why not?

(iv) Why at least the sum realised by sale of stock subsequent to that resolution was not immediately sent to the All India Congress Committee's Treasurer?

(v) What items of expenditure are incurred by the Reception Committee subsequent to the above resolution and under whose authority they were so incurred?

XVI. With reference to Mr. Godrej's scheme for untouchables in his letter dated the 20th of June, 1923, resolved that the Working Committee approves of Mr. Umar Sobani's suggestion and requests Mr. Godrej to utilise 2 years' interest on the donation in carrying out the plan. The Committee also requests that accounts of such expenditure may be furnished to the Working Committee. It is understood that no portion of the donation itself but only the 2 years' interest thereon will be utilized.

XVII. Read letter of the Maharashtra P. C. C. regarding funds lying with Mr. Bhopatker: Resolved that Mr. Bhopatkar is requested to send the amount referred to to the All India Congress Committee treasurer to the credit of the Maharashtra Provin-

cial Congress Committee. After receipt the money will be sent to the Maharashtra P. C. C.

XVIII. Read telegram from Syt. Shyam Sunder Chakravarty resigning from the All India Congress Committee: Resolved that Syt. Shyam Sunder Chakravarty be requested to withdraw his resignation.

XIX. Read letter from Mr. Kidwai dated Allahabad the 16th of July: Vacancies referred to arise out of imprisonments. There is no provision or practice for resignations by A. I. C. C. members being accepted by the Working Committee or the All-India Congress Committee. The practice has been for P. C. Cs. to fill up vacancies arising out of resignation, imprisonment or otherwise. The elections referred to are therefore valid.

XX. Read letter from Syt. Rajagopalachari dated the 11th of July, 1923, regarding a gift of a piece of land. No question of boycott of courts arises in cases of non-controversial registration of documents to ensure the transference of title. The suggestion of the Andhra P. C. C. may be accepted.

XXI. Read M. Abdul Bari's complaint dated the 24th of June regarding the circulation of a pamphlet by Syt. Rajendra Prasad; This Committee is of opinion no action is necessary.

XXII. Read letters dated the 29th of May and 26th of July:

The earmarking is recorded and the amount shall be paid to Syt. Shrikrishnadas Jaju, agent of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.

XXIII. Read letter from the General Secretary, Central Sikh League, dated the 2nd of June, 1923, about a Sikh colour in the National Flag: Resolved that the suggestion will no doubt be considered should the question of a design be taken up.

XXIV. (i) Read cablegram of Mr. Dara requesting help for the "Hind," London: The Secretary to write expressing regret that the Committee is unable to render any help.

(ii) Read letter of Mr. L. R. Tairsee dated 19-7-23 and the enclosed communication from Mr. A. Field. The Secretary to write to Mr. Tairsee saying that while thanking Mr. Field for his advice the Committee adheres to the view that spontaneous English help should not be marred by financial aid from here.

XXV. Read letter from the Secretary, Utkal P. C. C. about the Andhra Utkal boundary dispute: Resolved that Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar be requested to expedite the arbitration in the Andhra-Utkal dispute.

XXVI. Read para 3 of the letter of the Secretary Maharashtra P. C. C. dated the 16th July, 1923: Resolved that in accordance with the wishes of the Jamkhindi State Committee and the recommendation of the Maharashtra P. C. C. the Jamkhindi State be assigned to Karnatak P. C. C.

Regarding the Southern Maharashtra States resolved that the existing arrangement by which the Cannada and Maharashtra areas thereof are attached

respectively to Karnatak and Maharashtra provinces shall continue without alteration.

XXVII. Read Mr. Bhoja Rao's proposal for payment of T. A. to A.I. C.C. members. The question of the payment of T. A. to A. I. C. C. members should be considered by P. C. Cs. with regard to their respresentatives. It is noted that the payment is made by some provinces.

XXVIII. Read letter of Andhra P. C. C. dated the 21st of July, 1923.

This Committee having regard to its financial position regrets it is unable to grant the application for the present. It will however be considered later on when the Committee finds itself in a position to do so. In the meanwhile the Provincial Committee is requested to exert itself in regard to finding funds for the purpose. The Provincial Committee is further requested to intimate the number of volunteers which it can furnish according to the instructions of the member-in-charge.

XXIX. Read letter from the Secretary, Sindh P. C. C. dated the 19th of March, 1923. Resolved that no application for grants can be considered unless the Committee applying, has paid up all arrears.

XXX. Read letter from the President, Bombay P. C. C. intimating that Committee's willingness to accommodate the Delhi P. C. C. with a loan of Rs. 25,000 for holding the special session of the

Congress. The Committee is of opinion that the Bombay P. C. C. may grant the loan as proposed, on such terms as it may arrange with the Delhi Committee.

XXXI. Read letters from Secretary, U. P. P. C. C. dated 6-6-23, 14-6-23 and 3-7-23 about payment of loan to A. I. C. C. and grant for the "Swarajya" Press. Resolved that the General Secretary do take steps to recover the monies due from the U. P. P. C. C.

XXXII. Read letter of Mr. Dalliwall, dated 9—6—23. Resolved that the Committee regrets it cannot take the property or make a grant.

XXXIII. Read letter from Dr. Sathaye, Convener, Labour Sub-Committee, dated the 25th of July, 1923 and connected papers including previous resolutions on the subject. Resolved that Dr. Sathaye be informed that the scheme will be considered in detail after circulation among the members of the Working Committee, and that meanwhile Dr. Sathaye be informed that considering its present financial condition the Working Committee does not hope to be in a position to adopt the scheme this year or to give effect to it. Under these circumstances, Dr. Sathaye is requested to reconsider his application and make fresh proposals, if any.

XXXIV. Read Khaddar member's letter of the 26th of July, 1923 regarding Khaddar funds in Ajmer. Resolved that the suggestion be accepted and the money be recovered.

XXXV. The Committee records its grateful appreciation of the help rendered by Syt. Vithalbhai Patel in the conduct of the Nagpur Satyagraha and requests him to continue to be on the spot and help to guide the movement along with the member-in-charge.

XXXVI. Resolved that the Committee records its sense of loss in the untimely death of Syt. Hari Deo Narain Singh of Torni, District Patna, one of the Satyagraha prisoners in the Nagpur Jail, and offers its sincere condolence and sympathy to his bereaved family.

DELHI SPECIAL SESSION 1923.

An extraordinary session of the Indian National Congress was held in Delhi on 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th September 1923. Dr. M. A. Ansari was Chairman of the Reception Committee and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was president of the session.

DELHI SPECIAL SESSION 1923.

The following resolutions were passed by the Congress at this Special Session:—

Council Entry.

I. While re-affirming its adherence to the principle of non-violent non-co-operation, this Congress declares that such congressmen as have no religious or other conscientious objections against entering the legislatures are at liberty to stand as candidates and to exercise their right of voting at the forthcoming elections; and this Congress therefore suspends all propaganda against entering the councils.

The Congress at the same time calls upon all congressmen to redouble their efforts to carry out the constructive programme of their great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, by united endeavour to achieve Swaraj at the earliest possible moment.

Late Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Choudhry.

II. The Congress places on record its deep sense of loss at the untimely death of Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Choudhry, a veteran congressman and an ardent social reformer, who served the motherland nobly and long, and this Congress offers its respectful and heartfelt sympathies to Srimati Sarala Devi Choudhrani and the other members of the family in their sad bereavement.

Earthquake in Japan.

III. This Congress expresses the deep sorrow of the people of India at the terrible catastrophe which has befallen the people of Japan and offers them the profound sympathy of the Indian people in their hour of trial.

This Congress while it has no doubt that the brave people of Japan will, by their energy and fortitude, rapidly recover from their present distressful condition, appeals to the people of India to contribute as a token of their sympathy for their Asiatic brethren, their mite to wards the mitigation of the present suffering of the Japanese people.

Civil Disobedience.

IV. This Congress resolves that the following committee be formed forthwith to organise an effective campaign of civil disobedience and to advise and regulate the action of provinces organising similar provincial or local campaigns for the speedy attainment of Swaraj, which alone can guarantee the restoration of Mahatma Gandhi and other political prisoners to liberty, as well as the freedom of the Jazirut-ul-Arab and a satisfactory settlement of the Punjab wrong:—

1 Dr Kitchlew.
2 Maulana Muhammad Ali.
3 Deshbandhu Das.
4 Syt. Vallabhbhai Patel.
5 Sardar Mangal Singh.
6 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
7 Babu Rajendra Prasad.
8 Syt. Vithalbhai Patel.

Dr. Kitchlew to be Convener.

Nabha Abdication.

V. This Congress strongly condemns the action of the Government of India in bringing about the forced abdication of H. H. Maharaja Ripudaman Singh Malvendra

Bahadur of Nabha as being unjust and unconstitutional and establishing a very dangerous precedent for the Indian States.

The Congress conveys its heartfelt sympathy to H. H. the Maharaja Saheb in the grave wrong that has befallen him.

Behar, Canara and Burma Floods.

VI. This Congress expresses its sympathy with the sufferers from the recent floods in Behar, Canara and Burma, and calls upon the people of this country to co-operate with the Working Committee in raising funds for the relief of their brethren in the affected areas.

Revision of Constitution.

VII. Resolved that a Committee consisting of the following five gentlemen be appointed to revise the constitution and rules of the Indian National Congress and present their report to the session of the Congress at Cocanada:—

1 Syt. George Joseph.
2 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
3 Syt. Subhas Chandra Bose.
4 Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.
5 Syt. P. D. Tandon.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to be the convener

National Pact.

VIII. This Congress resolves that the following gentlemen be appointed to prepare a draft of the National Pact, to circulate it for opinion among leading representatives and influential persons of different communities in the country and after consideration of the opinions received, to submit their report to the All India Congress Committee for disposal at the Cocanada Congress:—

(1) Lala Lajpat Rai (in case he cannot work on the committee on account of illness, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya).

(2) Sardar Mehtab Singh.

(3) Dr. M. A. Ansari (Convener)

To the Press.

IX. This Congress resolves that the Working Committee be instructed to issue a public manifesto inviting the attention of the Indian newspapers to the extreme necessity of exercising great restraint when dealing with matters likely to affect inter-communal relations, and also in reporting events and incidents relating to inter-communal dissensions and commenting on them, and to appeal to them not to adopt an attitude that may prove detrimental to the best interests of India and may embitter the relations between different communities.

This Congress also resolves that the Working Committee be instructed to appoint in each province a small committee which should request such newspapers as publish any matter likely to create inter-communal dissensions, that they should desist from such a course of action and if, in spite of their friendly advice, no useful result is achieved, to proclaim such newspapers. This Congress further resolves that, in case such newspapers do not even then alter their attitude, a boycott of them by congressmen be declared in the last resort.

District Conciliation Committees.

X. This Congress resolves that in the headquarters of every district, mixed committees be established under the supervision of District Congress Committees, in

consultation with Khilafat Committees, Hindu Sabhas and other responsible local associations with a view to the maintenance of peace and security throughout the districts and in case of any incident likely to disturb such peace and security, to endeavour to minimise its evil consequences and provide for a speedy and satisfactory settlement and further to encourage people in case of any provocation, to conduct themselves with restraint and refer the matter to such committees for redress of their grievances instead of themselves resorting to retaliatory measures.

Akalis.

XI. This Congress congratulates the Akalis on the courageous stand they are making against the campaign of repression carried on by the Punjab Government in the Doaba under the pretext of putting down the Babbar Akalis, culminating in the arrest of the Enquiry Committee sent by the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, and expresses its full sympathy with them in their gallant struggle.

Khaddar and Boycott.

XII. (a) This Congress reiterates its conviction that the widespread production and use of khaddar, that is, hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, is essential for the economic betterment of India, and therefore calls upon the people of India to redouble their efforts to make spinning and the use of khaddar universal throughout the country, and thus bring about a complete boycott of all foreign cloth,

(*b*) In addition to cloth, the Congress further calls upon the people to encourage home manufactures by purchasing Indian made goods only and, wherever possible, avoiding the purchase and use of foreign goods.

(c) In view of the fact that India is at present carrying on a struggle for freedom and England is thwarting her and putting every impediment in her way, and Indians are insulted and treated as helots in British colonies and dominions, this Congress calls upon the people specially to avoid purchase of goods produced in Great Britain, her colonies and dominions, and thus to bring about a complete boycott of such British goods as may be recommended by the committee appointed in clause (d).

(d) In order to give effect to clauses (b) and (c) of this resolution, and to determine the most feasible method of encouraging Indian manufactures and the boycott of British goods in particular, this Congress appoints the following committee and empowers it to issue the necessary directions in this behalf :—

1 Pandit Motilal Nehru
2 Maulana Muhammad Ali
3 Syt. Vithalbhai Patel
4 Syt. J. K. Mehta
5 Syt. Subhas Chandra Bose.
6 Seth Umar Sobani
7 Dr. Kitchlew
8 Syt. N. C. Kelkar
9 Syt. D. Gopala Krishnayya.

Nagpur Flag Satyagrah.

XIII This Congress offers its hearty congratulations to the organisers of the Flag Satyagraha movement at Nagpur and the volunteers for having by their heroic sacri-

fice and suffering upheld the honour of the country by carrying the fight to a successful finish.

Kenya.

XIV. This Congress looks upon the decision of the British Government about the status of Indians in Kenya as being in keeping with England's determination to rule India as a subject country, and therefore this Congress urges on the people of India to redouble their efforts to wipe off the stigma of subjection as early as possible.

This Congress further asks the Working Committee to organise educative propaganda in the country regarding the position of Indians in the colonies and to help Kenya Indians in any practical programme.

Welcome to Released Prisoners.

XV. The Congress welcomes back Lala Lajpat Rai, Maulana Muhammad Ali and other prisoners released from jail and expresses its deep appreciation of their sacrifices for the national cause.

Turkish Victory.

XVI. This Congress congratulates the Turkish people and their great leader, Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha on the successful termination of their war for freedom and regards this victory as a sure presage of the removal of all alien control from the Jazirut-ul-Arab and the freedom of all the nations of the East.

Hindu Muslim Relations.

XVII. This Congress while expressing its profound regret that during the last twelve months the inhabitants of

certain towns and cities made attacks upon and caused injuries to persons, properties and places of worship of their neighbours in violation of the principles of religion and humanity and, while believing that such attacks deserve the strongest condemnation, resolves that a committee be formed for the purpose of visiting the places were disturbances have occurred and investigating matters with a view to fix the responsibility for them and publicly condemn those who are found guilty of such reprehensible acts.

The Congress further resolves that the said committee be asked to recommend such measures as are calculated to prevent in future similar incidents, so that all communities may practise their respective religions without wounding the feelings of each other and may co-operate in national matters with mutual confidence and good-will.

Resolved that the committee shall consist of :—

1 Abbas Tyabji Saheb
2 T. A. K. Sherwani Saheb
3 Babu Rajendra Prasad
4 Syt. PurushottamDas Tandon
5 Master Sunder Singh (Lyallpuri)
6 Syt. George Joseph
7 Syt. B. F. Bharucha

Resolved that the above committee be requested to visit different places, beginning with Saharanpur, and report whithin two months to the All India Congress Committee.

Shuddhi and Anti-Shuddhi.

XVIII. This Congress resolves that a committee be formed to inquire into incidents connected with "Shuddhi" and "Anti-

Shuddhi" movements, to visit places wherever coercion, intimidation, exercise of undue pressure or influence or use of methods of proselytisation inconsistent with such religious objects, is alleged or suspected, and to recommend such means as it thinks necessary for the prevention of such practices.

This Congress also calls upon the committee to furnish a complete or *ad interim* report of its investigations and findings to the All India Congress Committee before the 15th of December 1923, and that it should denounce the parties guilty of corrupt practices. The Congress resolves further that the committee shall consist of the following:—

1 Pandit Sitaram (Meerut.)
2 Pandit Neki Ram Sharma (Bhiwani.)
3 Maulvi Muhammad Shafi (Behar.)
4 Maulvi Zulfikar Ali Khan (Qadian.)

Civic Guards.

XIX. This Congress resolves that its local committees be instructed to form under their supervision and control, local corps of Civic Guards (open to members of all communities) throughout the country for the maintenance of peace and order and for the performance of other civic duties. This Congress also resolves that its local committees be also instructed to induce and encourage the people to take up physical culture and to provide necessary facilities for this purpose, to enable the Indians to undertake their self-defence.

This Congress further instructs its Working Committee to frame rules for the formation and working of these Civic Guards.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE 1923.

Summary of the proceedings of the meetings of the All India Congress Committee held at Cocanada on December 26th and 31st 1923.

The minutes of the meetings held in Delhi on September 13th, 15th and 19th, 1923, were confirmed. Various proposals were considered by the Committee and were either referred to the Subjects Committee of the Congress or were dropped.

A vote of thanks to the retiring president, Syt. Konda Venkatappayya was recorded.

The report of the outgoing General Secretaries for the year was formally presented to the Committee.

WORKING COMMITTEE 1923.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Delhi on the 19th September 1923.

[The Committee also met on the 13th September before the Special Session of the Congress at Delhi. At this meeting the Bengal election dispute was discussed and referred to the A. I. C. C.]

I. Resolved that a sum of Rs. 5000 be sanctioned for the Civil Disobedience Committee appointed by the Special Congress at Delhi, and that the amount be remitted without delay to Dr. Kitchlew, convener of the committee.

II. Resolved that a sum of Rs. 2500 each be sanctioned for the Hindu Muslim Differences Committee and the Conversion Enquiry Committee, and that the amounts be remitted to T. A. K. Sherwani Saheb, convener of the former and Pandit Neki Ram Sharma, convener of the latter committee.

III. Resolved that the 50% of the Tilak Swaraj Fund reserved for civil disobedience may be utilized for the efficient organisation of workers.

IV. Resolved that the money belonging to the Kerala Committee lying with the All India Congress Committee's treasurer be returned after deducting the All India Congress Committee's quota.

V. Resolved that out of the unspent balance remaining with the Malabar Relief Committee, Rs. 5000 be handed over to Syt. G. B. Deshpande

for Canara relief and the balance be remitted to the All India Congress Committee.

VI. Resolved that the next meeting of the Working Committee be held in Karnatak, the place and date to be fixed in consultation with Syt. Deshpande.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Sabarmati on November 25th and 26th 1923.

I. The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

II. Read Syt. Hardikar's application for a grant for the Volunteers' Conference. Resolved that the Working Committee cannot give any funds for the conference. If an organisation is brought into existence by his efforts, whose constitution accepts the discipline of the Congress and is otherwise approved by the Working Committee the question of financial aid to such organisation may be considered.

III. Resolved that the Working Committee regrets it cannot sanction any further grants in view of the financial position of the Committee.

IV. The Akali situation was discussed and the resolutions of the informal conference held on the 14th November, 1923 at Amritsar were read. Resolved

(*a*) that the Working Committee adopts the following resolutions recommended by the informal conference at Amritsar:—

"This Conference declares that the attack made by the Government on the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee and the Akali Dal is a direct challenge to the right of free association of all Indians for non-violent activities and being convinced that the blow is aimed at all movements for freedom, resolves to stand by the Sikhs and calls upon Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Parsees and all people of India to render all possible assistance to the Sikhs in the present struggle.

"This Conference is further of opinion that an Akali Sahayak Committee consisting of the following members, with power to co-opt, be appointed to do effective propaganda all over the country regarding the Akali situation and to render necessary assistance, including financial aid, to the Akalis:—

1 Mrs. Sarojini Naidu
2 Syt. Rajagopalachari
3 ,, T. Prakasam
4 ,, Deshpande
5 ,, T. R. Krishnaswami Iyer
6 ,, N. C. Kelkar
7 ,, Vallabhbhai Patel
8 ,, Jairamdas
9 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
10 Pandit Motilal Nehru
11 Dr. Kitchlew
12 Lala Lajpat Rai
13 Dr. Ansari
14 Syt. Raghavendra Rao
15 Seth Jamnalal Bajaj
16 Syt. Aney
17 ,, Rajendra Prasad
18 Desabandhu Das
19 Syt. Phookan
20 Maulana Mahomed Ali
21 Maulana Shaukat Ali
22 Maulana A. K. Azad
23 Syt. B. F. Bharucha
24 Prof. Gidwani
25 Syt. George Joseph
26 Hakim Ajmal Khan
27 Deshbhkata Venkatappayya
28 Pandit Santanam"

(*b*) The Working Committee requests Dr. Kitchlew, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Acharya Gidwani to organise publicity and render all possible help and to keep the Working Committee and the country in touch with all developments. A sum of Rs. 1,000 is placed at their disposal for the present towards expenses in this direction.

(*c*) The Working Committee requests the Akali Sahayak Committee to raise a special fund in order to render financial assistance to the Akalis in terms of the above resolution and authorises it to utilise the Congress organisation for the purpose.

V. Resolved that the Ajmer Provincial Committee may be given financial assistance up to Rs. 100 per mensem for a period of 4 months,

[In pursuance of resolutions No. 9 and No. 10 of the Special Congress held at Delhi, the following resolutions were adopted:—]

VI, Resolved that the manifesto hereto appended be adopted and the same be issued to the Press on behalf of the Working Committee.*

VII. Resolved that the Provincial Congress Committees in the various provinces be requested to suggest names for nomination of members, not exceeding three in each province, for the committees mentioned in para 2 No. IX of the resolutions of the Delhi Congress.

VIII. Resolved that the Provincial Congress Committees be requested to appoint conciliatory committees in their respective areas in conformity with resolution No. X of the Delhi Congress.

IX. Resolved that the draft constitution and rules for Civic Guards be circulated amongst the Provincial Committees for consideration and report.

X. Resolved that Syt. George Joseph be requested to represent the Congress at the ensuing sessions of the East Africa Indian National Congress at Mombasa to be held during the Christmas of this year. He is also requested to study the situation and report. A sum of Rs. 2,500 is placed at his disposal for the purpose, Pandit Banarsidas Chaturvedi is requested to accompany him on his tour.

XI. Resolved that Syt. Deshpande be requested to investigate the Andhra-Utkal dispute and report to this committee as early as possible.

* The manifesto is given at the close of the proceedings of this meeting.

XII. Resolved that the Working Committee approves the action of the President regarding Berar P. C. C's resolution calling upon subordinate Congress organisations to help Swarajya Party candidates in the elections to the legislatures.

XIII. Dr. Mahmud's report regarding the Poona election disputes is confirmed.

XIV. Resolved that Seth Jamnalal Bajaj be authorised to operate the accounts of the Khadder Fund, and the President be requested to draft the resolution in the required form and forward the same to the banks concerned.

XV. Letter from the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee applying for a grant of Rs. 50,000 for national education considered: resolved that the application cannot be granted at present.

XVI. Resolved that the election disputes relating to the Bassein Taluk Congress Committee, the Byculla District Congress Committee and Amraoti District (Provincial Congress nominations) be referred to the President for report to the All India Congress Committee.

XVII. A sum of Rs. 1,500 be sanctioned for the expenses of the All India Congress Committee.

Manifesto referred to in resolution No. 6 of the Proceedings of the Working Committee which met at the Ashram, Sabarmati. on the 25th and 26th November 1923.

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress beg to invite the attention of the Indian Newspapers to the imperative necessity of exercising great restraint when dealing with matters likely to affect inter-communal relations which have of late become strained owing to a variety of causes artificial as well as natural. Be these justifiable or plausible, they

need prompt investigation and remedy if the nation is to march on unimpeded to its goal.

It needs little effort to realise that newspapers take the major share in shaping the dispositions of all forms of national endeavour, and this is particularly so in our country at the present moment when the organisation of public life cannot yet be safely said to have emerged out of its infancy.

Inter-communal unity has been repeatedly emphasised to be the essential condition for substantial progress in the path of freedom. And newspapers, be they of purely political aim or social or religious interests, can little afford to ignore their responsibilites in promoting, securing or safeguarding inter-communal amity.

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Cocanada on December 26th 1923.

I. The minutes of the meetings held at Ahmedabad on November 25th and 26th, 1923, were confirmed.

II. The General Secretaries' annual report was considered and passed with amendments.

III. The following election complaints were referred to the respective Provincial Congress Committees for early reports:—

1 By Syt. Acharya (Tamil Nad).
2 By Syt. Ojha (Bihar).
3 By Syt. Shende (Maharashtra).

IV. The President's decision in the Bassein election dispute was accepted.

Note.—The President stated that the remaining two election disputes referred to him were still pending decision.

COCANADA SESSION 1923.

The 38th session of the Indian National Congress was held at Cocanada on 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31st, December, 1923, and January 1, 1924. Syt. Konda Venkatappayya was Chairman of the Reception Committee and Maulana Mohamed Ali was President of the session.

COCANADA SESSION 1923.

The following resolutions were passed by the Congress at its 28th Session at Cocanada :—

Sorrow at death of Patriots.

I. This Congress places on record its deep sense of loss at the demise of Sriyut S. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and Babu Aswini Kumar Dutta, who had rendered invaluable services in the cause of the country.

This Congress also records with grief the death of Syt. Hardeo Narayan Singh and of Pandit Pratap Narayan Bajpeyi, who bravely suffered imprisonment imposed upon them and contracted serious illness during their incarceration and preferred death to release under dishonourable conditions.

This Congress resolves to place on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the country by the death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, an ex-president of the Congress.

Syt. Sawarkar.

II. This Congress condemns the continued incarceration of Syt. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, and expresses its sympathy with Dr. N. D. Savarkar and other members of his family.

Indian National Pact.

III. Read the draft of the India National Pact.

Resolved that the Committee appointed by the Delhi Session of the Congress do call for further

opinions and criticisms and submit further report by the 31st March, 1924 to the All India Congress Committee for its consideration, and that Sardar Amar Singh Jhabbal be included in the committee in place of Sardar Mehtab Singh who is in Jail.

Volunteer Organisation.

IV. This Congress is of opinion that in order to train the people of India and make them effective instruments for the carrying out of the national work on the lines laid down by the Congress, it is necessary to have a trained and disciplined body of workers. This Congress, therefore, welcomes the movement for the formation of an All India volunteer organisation and calls on the Working Committee to take all necessary steps to form such a body of trained volunteers in co-operation with the organisers of the movement and keep control and supervision over it, while giving it freedom of internal management and administration.

Congress Departments.

V. Resolved that this Congress hereby calls upon its Working Committee to prepare and submit at as early a date as possible to the All India Congress Commtttee for its consideration, a scheme of organisation of separate Congress departments for more efficiently, expeditiously and uninterruptedly carrying out the various items of the programme of constructive work under its supervision and control ;

That the Working Committee should also submit a scheme of a national service of paid workers who

would carry out the work of the various departments and provide adequate and efficient central and proincial secretariats and local office establishments;

That this Congress authorises the A. I. C. C. to adopt these schemes with such modifications as it may deem necessary, and to put them into force at the earliest possible date.

Non-co-operation.

VI. This Congress reaffirms the Non-co-operation resolutions adopted at Calcutta, Nagpur, Ahmedadad, Gaya and Delhi.

Since doubts have been raised by reason of the Non-co-operation resolution adopted at Delhi with regard to Council-entry, whether there has been any change in the policy of the Congress regarding the triple boycott, this Congress affirms that the principle and policy of that boycott remain unaltered.

This Congress further declares that the said principle and policy form the foundation of constructive work, and appeals to the nation to carry out the programme of constructive work as adopted at Bardoli and prepare for the adoption of civil disobedience. This Congress calls upon every Provincial Congress Committee to take immediate steps in this behalf with a view to the speedy attainment of our goal.

Kenya.

VII. This Congress sends the greetings and sympathy of the nation to the Indian community in Kenya, and while adhering to the opinion that unless Swarajya is won

for India, the sufferings and grievances of Indians abroad cannot be properly remedied, it authorises Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. George Joseph to attend the forthcoming Indian Congress in Kenya and study the situation and advise the Indian community there, as to what steps they should take in carrying on their struggle against the insults and injustices imposed upon them.

Ceylon Labourers.

VIII. This Congress appoints a Committee consisting of Syts. M. A. Arulanandam, A. V. Dias, Periaundaram and L. Muthukrishna to investigate the conditions of life to which the South Indian labourers in Ceylon are subjected, and to make a report to the Working Committee.

Akali Struggle.

IX. This Congress declares that the attack made by the Government on the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee and the Akali Dal is a direct challenge to the right of free association of all Indians for non-violent activities, and being convinced that the blow is aimed at all movements for freedom, resolves to stand by the Sikhs and calls upon Hindus, Musalmans, Christians, Parsees and all people of India to render all possible assistance to the Sikhs in the present struggle, including assistance with men and money.

The Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to take all necessary steps in this behalf.

Indians Abroad.

X. In view of the humiliating treatment accorded to Indian labourers in various parts of the British Empire, this Congress

advises the people of India to consider the question of stopping all kinds of emigration from India for labour purposes and calls upon the Working Committee to appoint a small committee to examine the matter in all aspects and report to the All India Congress Committee.

Satyagraha Committee.

XI. Resolved that this Congress authorises the Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee to perform the duties of the Civil Disobedience Committee appointed at the Delhi Session of the Congress, and further resolved that the Satyagraha Committee do hence forward cease to exist as a separate committee.

Khaddar Board.

XII. It is resolved that an All India Khaddar Board be formed consisting of Syts. Jamnalal Bajaj (chairman), Vallabhbhai Patel, Maganlal Gandhi, Reva Shanker Jagjivan Javeri, Velji Nappu, Belgaumwalla, Shaukat Ali and Shankarlal Banker (secretary), with full power to organise and carry on khaddar work throughout India under the general supervision of the All India Congress Committee, and to raise funds (including loans) therefor, in addition to the allotments that may be made from the general funds. The Board shall hold office for three years, any vacancies to be filled in by the rest of the members. A report and statement of accounts shall be presented to the A. I. C. C. at its annual meeting and whenever else called for. The Board will act as the central autho-

rity on behalf of the A. I. C. C. with regard to khaddar work and in co-operation with Provincial Congress Committees.

It will supervise and control the Khaddar Boards established by Provincial Congress Committees and organise new ones in co-operation with the P. C. Cs. where they do not exist.

Outgoing Secretaries.

XIII. This Congress places on record its grateful thanks for the valuable services rendered by the outgoing General Secretaries.

Office bearers.

XIV. Resolved that the following office-bearers be appointed:

GENERAL SECRETARIES.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchlew

Syt. Gangadhar Rau Deshpande

TREASURERS.

Syt. Velji Lakhamsi Nappu

Syt. Reva Shanker Jagjivan Jhaveri

Auditors.

XV. Resolved that Messrs. C. H. Sopariwalla and Co. be appointed auditors for the year.

Next Congress.

XVI. This Congress resolves that its next sessions be held in Karnatak.

REVISION OF CONSTITUTION.

XVII. A number of amendments to the Constitution were adopted by the Congress. The amended constitution is given below.

Article I.—

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

Article II.—

(*a*) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during the last week of December at such place as may have been decided upon at its previous session or such other place as may have been determined by the All India Congress Committee hereinafter referred to.

(*b*) An extraordinary session of the Congress shall be summoned by the All India Congress Committee on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees or of its own motion, provided that in the latter case due notice has been given and the proposal is supported by two thirds of the members present. The All India Congress Committee shall determine the place where such session is to be held, and the Articles of the Constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All India Congress Committee may consider necessary in respect of each such session.

Article III.—

The Indian National Congress organisation shall consist of the following:—

(*a*) The Indian National Congress.

(*b*) The All India Congress Committee.

(*c*) Provincial Congress Committees.

(*d*) District Congress Committees.

(*e*) Sub-Divisional, Taluqa or Tahsil, Firka or other local Congress Committees.

(*f*) Such other committees outside India as may from time to time be recognised by the Cangress in this behalf.

(*g*) The Reception Committee of the Congress.

Note: Provincial, District, Taluqa, Tahsil or other Conferences may be organised by the above Committees for educative and propaganda purposes.

Article IV.—

No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the organisations referred to in the foregoing Article, unless he or she has attained the age of 18 and expresses in writing his or her acceptance of the object and the methods as laid down in Article I of this constitution and of the Rules of the Congress.

Article V.—

The following shall be the provinces with headquarters mentioned against them, but in every case the respective Provincial Congress Committee shall have the power to alter the headquarters from time to time.

Province		*Headquarters*
(1) Ajmer, Merwara and Rajputana.	(Hindustani)	Ajmer
(2) Andhra	(Telugu)	Bezwada
(3) Assam	(Assamese)	Gauhati
(4) Behar	(Hindustani)	Patna
(5) Bengal and Surma Valley	(Bengali)	Calcutta
(6) Berar	(Marathi)	Amraoti
(7) Burma	(Burmese)	Rangoon

(8)	Central Provinces	(Hindustani)	Jubbulpore
(9)	Central Provinces	(Marathi)	Nagpur
(10)	City of Bombay	(Marathi and Gujarati)	Bombay
(11)	Delhi	(Hindustani)	Delhi
(12)	Gujarat	(Gujarati)	Ahmedabad
(13)	Karnatak	(Cannada)	Gadag
(14)	Kerala	(Malayalam)	Calicut
(15)	Maharashtra	(Marathi)	Poona
(16)	Punjab and N. W. Frontier Province	(Punjabi and Hindustani)	Lahore
(17)	Sind	(Sindhi)	Hyderabad
(18)	Tamil Nadu	(Tamil)	Trichinopoly
(19)	United Provinces	(Hindustani)	Allahabad
(20)	Utkal	(Oriya)	Cuttack

Provided that the All India Congress Committee may from time to time assign particular Indian States to particular provinces and a Provincial Congress Committee may in its turn allot particular Indian States assigned to it by the All India Congress Committee to particular districts within its Jurisdiction.

Article VI.—

(*a*) There shall be a Provincial Congress Committee in and for each of the provinces named in the foregoing Article.

(*b*) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall organise District and other Committees referred to in Article III and shall have the power to frame rules laying down conditions of membership and for the conduct of business not inconsistent with this constitution or any rules made by the All India Congress Committee.

(*c*) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall consist of representatives elected annually by the members of the Congress organisations in the province in accordance with the rules made by the Provincial Congress Committee.

(*d*) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall submit an annual report of the Congress work in that province to the All India Congress Committee before the 30th November.

(*e*) No person shall take part in elections to any Congress organisation who has not paid his subscription within a time fixed by the rules of the Provincial Congress Committee for the purpose.

Article VII.—

Every person not disqualified under Article IV and paying a subscription of four annas per year shall be entitled to become a member of any primary organisation controlled by the Provincial Congress Committee, provided that no person shall become a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time.

The year of the four-anna membership shall be from January 1st to December 31st.

Article VIII.—

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall be responsible for the election of delegates to the Congress.

No one shall be qualified for election who is not a member of any Congress organisation.

The number of delegates shall be not more than one for every fifty thousand or its fraction of the inhabitants of the province of its jurisdiction, including the Indian States therein, in accordance with the census of 1921: provided, however, that the inclusion of Indian States in the electorate shall not be taken to include any interference by the Congress with the internal affairs of such States.

The members of the All India Congress Committee shall be ex-officio delegates to the Congress, the Provincial Congress Committees deducting the number of the elected and, if any, the ex-officio members of the All India Congress Committee in their respective provinces from the number of delegates they are entitled to return.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall frame rules for the election of delegates, due regard being had to the return of women delegates and the representation of minorities, special interests or classes needing special protection.

The rules shall provide for the organisation of electorates and shall prescribe the procedure to be adopted for securing the proportional representation, by a single transferable vote or by any other method, of every variety of political opinion. Notice of all changes in the rules framed by the Provincial Congress Committee shall forthwith be sent to the General Secretaries of the Congress.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the Reception Committee of the ensuing session of the Congress, an alphabetical list of the delegates so elected, containing the full name, occupation, age, sex, religion and address of each of them to reach the Committee not later than 10 days before the date fixed for the holding of the session. No changes shall be made in the list within ten days of the Congress. In case, however, of interim vacancies, the Provincial Congress Committee shall fill them in accordance with the rules made in that behalf, such rules having been communicated previously to the All India Congress Committee.

Article IX.—

(*a*) Each Provincial Committee shall pay annually such subscription to the All India Congress Committee as may be fixed by the latter from time to time.

(*b*) No member of a Congress Committee shall vote at the election of representatives or delegates, or be elected as such, unless and until he has paid the subscription due by him.

Article X.—

Each Committee referred to in Article VIII shall issue certificates to the delegates duly elected in accordance with the form hereto attached, marked Appendix A, and signed by a Secretary of the Committee.

Article XI.—

Every delegate on presenting such a certificate and paying a fee of Rs. 10 at the Congress office shall receive a ticket entitling him to admission to the Congress.

Article XII.—

Delegates shall alone have the power of voting at the Congrees sittings or otherwise taking part in its deleberations.

Article XIII.—

The Reception Committee shall be formed by the Provincial Congress Committee at least six months before the meeting of the annual session and may include persons who are not members of the Provincial Committee. The members of the Reception Committee shall pay not less than Rs. 25 each.

Article XIV.—

The Reception Committee shall elect its chairman and other office-bearers from amongst its own members.

Article XV.—

It shall be duty of the Reception Committee to collect funds for the expenses of the Congress session to elect the president of the Congress in the manner set forth in the following Article, to make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates and guests and, as far as practicable, of visitors, and for the printing and publication of the report of the proceedings, and to submit statements of receipts and expenditure to the Provincial Congress Committee within four months of the session of the Congress.

Article XVI.—

The several Provincial Congress Committees shall, as far as possible, by the end of June, suggest to the Receiption Committee the names of persons who are, in their opinion eligible for the presidentship of the Congress, and the Receiption Committee shall, as far as possible, in the first week of July, submit to all the Provincial Committees the names as suggested for their final recommendations, provided that such final recommendation will be of any one but not more of such names, and he Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, meet in the month of August to consider such recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees is adopted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the president of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to accept the president recommended by the Provincial Congress Committees, or in case of emergency by resignation, death or otherwise, of the president elected in this manner, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All India Congress Committee whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September. In either case, the election shall be final, provided that in no case the person so elected as president belong to the province in which the Congress is to be held.

The president of a special or extraordinary session shall be elected by the All India Congress Committee subject to the same proviso.

Article XVII.—

(*a*) The Reception Committee shall through the Provincial Congress Committee of the province, remit to the All India Congress Committee, not

later than two weeks after the termination of the Congress session, ordinary or extraordinary, half the delegation fees.

(*b*) If Reception Committee has a balance after defraying all the expenses of the session, it shall hand over the same to the Provincial Congress Committee in the province in which the session was held, towards the Provincial Congress fund of that province.

Article XVIII.—

(*a*) The receipts and expenditure of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, and the statement of accounts together with the auditor's report shall be sent by the Provincial Congress Committee not later than six months from the termination of the Congres, to the All India Congress Committee.

(*b*) The accounts of the All India Congress Committee shall be audited every year by an auditor appointed at the annual session. It shall be competent for this auditor to call for and inspect the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees

(*c*) The All India Congress Committee shall take steps to ensure that the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees are properly audited.

Article XIX.—

The All India Congress Committee shall consist of 350 members, exclusive of ex-officio members.

The ex-officio members shall be the elected President, past Presidents of the Congress, if they sign Article I of this Constitution and are members of any Congress organisation, the General Secretaries and the Treasurers of the Congress.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall elect the allotted number of members of the All India Congress Committee from among the members of the Congress Committees within its jurisdiction.

The allotment shall be, as far as possible, on the basis of population according to the linguistic distribution of provinces, as given in Appendix B.

The method of election shall be the same as already prescribed for the election of delegates.

Elections to the All India Congress Committee shall ordinarily take place in the month of November.

Casual vacancies in the All India Congress Committee caused by resignation, death, absence from India, or otherwise, shall be filled by the Provincial Congress Coommittee.

The All India Congress Committee shall meet as often as may be necessary for the discharge of its obligations, and every time upon requisition by 30 members thereof, who shall state in their requisition the definite purpose for which they desire a meeting of the All India Congress Committee. When once such a meetting is requisitioned and convened, additional subjects may be brought up for consideration, provided due notice has been given to the members of the same.

The quorum for the All India Congress Commitee shall be fifty.

The All India Congress Commitee shall hold office till the election of the new All India Congress Committee.

Article XX.—

The Secretaries of the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall issue certificates of membership of the All India Committee to the persons so elected.

Article XXI —

The All India Congress Committee shall be the Committee of the Congress to carry out the programme of work laid down by the Congress from year to year and deal with all new matters that may arise during the year and may not be provided for by the Congress itself. For this purpose the All India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame its own rules not inconsistent with this constitution.

Article XXII.—

The President of the Congress shall be the Chairman of the All India Congress Committee for the year following.

Article XXIII.—

The Indian National Congress shall have three General Secretaries and two Treasurers, who shall be annually elected by the Congress. The General Secretaries shall prepare the report of the work of the All India Congress Committee during the year and submit it, with a full account of funds which may come into their hands, to the All India Congress Committee at a meeting to be held at the place and about the time of the session of Congress for the year; and copies of such account and report shall then be presented to the Congress and sent to the Congress Committees.

Article XXIV.—

The All India Committee shall, at its first meeting after the annual sessions of the Congress, elect 9 members who shall, with the President, General Secretaries and Treasurers, be the Working Committee of the Congress and the executive authority responsible to the All India Congress Committee in all matters.

All proceedings of the Working Committee shall be placed before the next meeting of the All Indian Congress Committee.

Article XXV.—

The members of the All India Congress Committee shall constitute the Subjects Committee for the ordinary or extraordinary session following.

Article XXVI.—

The Subjects Committee shall meet at least two days before the meeting of the Congress in open Session. At this meeting, the President-elect shall preside, and the outgoing Secretaries shall submit the draft programme of the work for the ensuing session of the Congress, including resolutions recommended by the different Provincial Congress Committees for adoption.

Article XXVII.—

The Subjects Committee shall proceed to discuss the said programme and shall frame resolutions to be submitted to the open session.

Article XXVIII.—

The Subjects Committee shall also meet from time to time, as the occasion may require, during the pendency of the Congress session.

Article XXIX.—

No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the president thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mohammedan Delegates, as a body, object by a majority of three fourths of their number, and if, after the discussion of any subject which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mohammedan delegates, as a body, are, by a majority of three fourths of their number, opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such resolution shall be dropped.

Article XXX.—

At each sitting of the Congress, the order in which business shall be transacted shall be as follows:—

(*a*) The Resolutions recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee.

(*b*) Any substantive motion not included in (*a*) but which does not fall under Article XXIX of the Constitution and which 25 delegates request the President in writing, before the commencement of the day's sitting, to be allowed to place before the Congress; provided, however, that no such motion shall be allowed unless it has been previously discussed at a meeting of the Subjects Committee and has received the support of at least a third of the members then present.

Article XXXI.—

The All India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame rules in respect of all matters not covered by the constitution aad not inconsistent with its Articles.

Article XXXII.—

The All India Congress Committee shall, at its first meeting every year, nominate a panel of 12 members to enquire into and finally decide all election disputes coming before it. The parties to the dispute shall nominate one each out of this panel to represent the respective disputants, and the president shall choose the third.

Article. XXXIII.

The proceedings of the Congress shall be conducted, as far as possible, in Hindustani. English or the language of the province may also be used.

APPENDIX A.

(VIDE ART. X OF THE CONSTITUTION.)

I hereby certify that .

Full name.....

Occupation.....

Age.....

Sex.....

Religion.....

Address.....

is a member of the.....Congress Committee and

has been duly elected by..... .... .Congress Committee as a delegate to the Indian National Congress to be held at ... . .in the month of. .....

SECRETARY,

..'.....Congress Committee.

APPENDIX B.

Number of members of the All India Congress Committee allotted to the different provinces

Province.	*No of members.*
1. Ajmer	7
2 Andhra	24
3 Assam	5
4. Behar	33
5 Bengal and Surma Valley	48
6. Berar	7
7. Burma	12
8. Central Provinces (Hindustani)	13
9 Central Provinces (Marathi)	7
10. City of Bombay	7
11. Delhi	8
12. Guarat	12
13. Karnatak	15
14. Kerala	8
15. Maharashtra	16
16. Punjab and N. W. Frontier Province	37
17. Sind	9
18. Tamil Nadu	25
19. United Provinces	45
20. Utkal	12
	350

Abstract of Accounts for 1921, 1922 and 1923.

ANNEXURE I—GENERAL STATEMENT OF COLLECTIONS AND DISBURSEMENTS.

General statement showing collections of Tilak Swaraj Fund and special grants (ear-marked) and disbursements made out of general collections by Provincial Congress Committees for Propaganda, Establishment, Volunteers, Famine, Depressed Classes etc. and for Khaddar and National Education, inclusive of amounts paid over to districts for the years 1921 to 1923.

RECEIPTS.

TILAK SWARAJ FUND.	1921			1922			1923			Total.		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
1. General collections—Annexure II	64,31,779	15	10	3,92,430	2	6½	2,64,288	9	1	70,88,498	11	5½
2. Specific (ear-marked) donations or grants—Annexure III ..	37,32,230	2	10½	9,45,552	1	4½	7,10,801	10	3	53,88,583	14	6
	1,01,64,010	2	8½	13,37,982	3	11	9,75,090	3	4	1,24,77,082	9	11½
Add												
3. Miscellaneous receipts: interest, other funds, famine, flood, provincial membership, delegation, affiliation etc. for 1921—1923										5,42,332	5	7½
										1,30,19,415	15	7

(continued overleaf)

DISBURSEMENTS OUT OF GENERAL COLLECTIONS THROUGH PROVINCES.

	1921 Annexure IV			1922 Annexure V			1923 Annexure VI			Total.		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
4. Amounts disbursed for propaganda, establishment, volunteers, famine, floods picketing etc. and paid to districts	21,22,255	11	11½	6,47,785	7	10½	5,14,803	14	10	32,84,845	2	8
5. Khaddar .. .	6,05,667	5	3	4,56,227	13	2	13,00,176	2	6	23,62,071	4	11
6. National Education ..	1,86,289	4	5	1,42,680	15	1	2,47,722	10	5	5,76,692	13	11
Grand Total Rs. ..	29,14,212	5	7½	12,46,694	4	1½	2,06,270	11	9	62,30,609	5	6

110, Medows Street,
Fort, Bombay.
22nd December 1923.

C. H. SOPARIWALLA,
Hon. Auditor,
All India Congress Committee.

ANNEXURE II—GENERAL COLLECTIONS OF PROVINCES.

	1921			1922			1923			Total.		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
1. All India Congress Committee	10,434	15	0	12,133	4	5	8,538	8	4	31,106	11	9
2. Bengal	6,17,374	6	3	13,809	7	9	11,863	0	3	6,43,046	14	3
3. Tamil Nadu	1,80,060	4	5	12,185	13	2	55,233	11	11	2,47,479	13	6
4. Andhra	1,77,118	3	4½	2, 534	2	0	8,083	11	3	1,87,736	0	7½
5. Kerala	21,531	15	4	105	12	1	.....			21,637	11	5
6. Bombay	21,40,423	15	3½	1,02,325	0	9	.....			22,42,749	0	0½
7. Gujrat	8, 35,218	9	6½	95,351	4	6	29,487	5	4	9,60,057	3	4½
8. Maharashtra	3,42,562	0	10	13,134	6	3	20,306	7	3	3,76,002	14	4
9. Karnatak	1,43,453	4	8½	12,955	0	5½	7,279	10	7	1,63,687	15	9
10. Sindh	1,95,542	0	0	.....			40,653	about 7	4½	2,36,195	7	4½
11. United Provinces ..	3,07,965	11	4½	17,274	4	9	5,113	13	4	3,30,353	13	5½
12. Delhi .. .	77,478	13	6	62	4	0	.....			77,541	1	6
13. Ajmere Merwara, Rajputana	42,288	10	0	542	15	6	1,773	12	6	44,605	6	0
14. Behar	4,58,241	7	10½	597	6	6	10,112	3	4½	4,68,951	1	9
15. Utkal	23,506	12	0	1,723	11	7½	.....			25,230	7	7½
16. Punjab and N. W. F. Province	5,25,842	8	4	91,568	5	8½	48,406	14	3	65,817	12	3½
17. C. P. Marathi	79,022	5	9	955	12	9	2	6	0	679,980	8	6
18. C. P. Hindustani ..	90,944	7	3	13,850	14	10	14,889	13	4	1,19,685	3	5
19. Berar	26,490	2	0	1,081	8	0	2,500	0	0	30,071	10	0
20. Assam	40,000	0	0	.....			.....			40,000	0	0
21. Burma	96,279	7	0	238	11	6	43	12	0	96,561	14	6
Total Rs.	64,31,779	15	10	3,92,430	2	6½	2,64,288	9	1	70,88,498	11	5½

ANNEXURE III—SPECIFIC (EAR-MARKED) COLLECTIONS OF PROVINCES.

	1921 Rs	a.	p.	1922 Rs.	a.	p.	1923 Rs.	a	p.	Total. Rs.	a.	p.
1. All India Congress Committee	.....			.....			1,29,175	3	9	1,29,175	3	9
2. Khaddar Dept. ..	.....			1,34,998	7	9	1,077	0	2	1,36,075	7	11
3. Bengal	6,33,000	0	0	38,001	0	0	150	0	0	6,71,151	0	0
4. Tamil Nadu	. ..			4,098	13	8	.....			4,098	13	8
5. Andhra	1, 80,648	10	2	510	13	0	2,357	5	0	1,83,516	12	2
6. Kerala .. .	.....			210	2	0	.....			210	2	0
7. Bombay .. .	13,85,569	4	2½	11,410	6	0	8,610	4	7	14,05,589	14	9½
8. Gujrat .. .	4,52,685	3	3½	6,27,826	2	5	4,04,251	5	1	14,84,762	10	9½
9. Maharashtra	1,48,169	8	9	5,159	12	4	22,496	10	0	1,75,825	15	1
10. Karnatak	21,466	2	3	13,395	0	6	3,253	6	8	38,114	9	5
11. Sindh	5,000	0	0	. ....			.....			5,000	0	0
12. United Provinces ..	43,441	4	0	. ....			.....			43,441	4	0
13. Delhi	14,759	0	0	.... .			600	0	0	15,359	0	0
14. Ajmere Merwara, Rajputana	.....			.....			.....			. ....		
15. Behar	2,32,064	12	0	.....			1,000	0	0	2,33,064	12	0
16. Utkal .. .	3,504	8	8½	931	7	8½	.....			4,436	0	5
17. Punjab and N. W. F. Province	4,48,098	0	0	.....			1,553	8	0	4,49,651	8	0
	incldnes Bajaj Fund.											
18. C. P. Marathi .. .	1,14,672	2	0	.....			.....			1,14,672	2	0
19. C. P. Hindustani .	31,354	11	6	.....			.....			31,354	11	6
20. Berar . ..	17,797	0	0	9,000	0	0	9,000	0	0	35,797	0	0
21. Assam	.....			10	0	0	.....			10	0	0
22. Burma	. .			.... .			1,27,276	15	0	1,27,276	15	0
23. Bajaj Pleader's Fund ..	.....			1,00,000	0	0	.....			1,00,000	0	0
Total Rs. ..	37,32,230	2	10½	9,45,552	1	4½	7,10,801	10	3	53,88,583	14	6

ANNEXURE IV—EXPFNDITURE ON PROPAGANDA, KHADDAR, EDUCATION ETC. IN 1921.

	Names of Provinces.	Amounts disbursed for propaganda, office, volunteers, famine, depressed classes, etc.			Amounts paid to districts for propaganda etc.			Khaddar.			Education.			Total.		
		Rs	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
1.	Bengal	2,17,349	4	0	3,09,985	11	11	.....			69,996	0	0	5,97,330	15	11
2.	Tamil Nadu	9,665	5	4	44,902	14	0	43,908	10	0	7,200	7	5	1,05,677	4	9
3.	Andhra .. .	7,300	7	10	1,12,917	7	3	2,103	0	3	.. ...			1,22,320	15	4
4.	Kerala	13,825	10	0	358	12	3	7,122	2	4	.....			21,306	8	7
5.	Bombay .. .	54,886	5	1	20,116	10	3	* 57,059	11	6	.....			1,32,062	10	10
6.	Gujrat	1,14,480	10	8½	3,348	5	5	* 5,24,111	9	8	30,000	0	0	6,71,940	9	9½
7.	Maharastra	11,719	4	9	2,300	0	0	36,201	14	0	5,039	3	0	55,260	5	9
8,	Karnatak	2,640	3	0	. ..			500	0	0	.....			3,140	3	0
9.	Sindh	2,229	15	3	5,625	0	0	2,000	0	0	.. ..			9,854	15	3
10.	United Provinces ..	29,795	1	6	1,49,393	9	6½	27,300	0	0	6,202	1	9	2,12,690	12	9½
11.	Delhi	1,508	12	6	.....			.....			.....			1,508	12	6
12.	Ajmere, Merwara and Rajputana	8,532	13	6	7,037	0	6	....			365	14	3	15,935	12	3
13.	Behar	16,286	1	1½	55,965 (Includes Rs. 25,000 for College building)	0	0	1,12,016	9	0	35,411	3	3	2,19,678	13	4½
14.	Utkal	4,979	2	9	25,982	9	8	51,710	15	2	3,103	3	0	85,775	14	7
15.	Punjab including 32 districts . ..	87,168	6	6	.. ..			41,565	3	0	28,971	3	9	1,57,704	13	3
16.	C. P. Marathi ..	2,514	8	10	. ..			. .			.. .			2,514	8	10
17.	C. P. Hindustani ..	14,862	6	9	20,000	0	0	500	0	0	.....			35,362	6	9
18.	Berar	2,206	14	6	.....			...			.....			2,206	14	6

(continued overleaf)

19. Assam	28,250 0 0	.....	.....	.....	28,250 0 0
20. Burma	1,393 12 0	.....	670 4 0	.....	2,064 0 0
Total Rs.	6,31,595 1 11	7,57,933 0 9½	9,06,769 14 11	1,86,289 4 5	24,82,587 6 0½
Add amount of Tilak Swaraj Fund retained by subordinate committees	.....	7,32,727 9 3	.....	.....	7,32,727 9 3
	6,31,595 1 11	14,90,660 10 ½	9,06,769 14 11	1,86,289 4 5	32,15,314 15 3½
**Less* amount of loans received back	.....	.....	*3,01,102 9 8	.....	3,01,102 9 8
Total Rs.	6,31,595 1 11	1,49,0660 10 ½	6,05,667 5 3	1,86,289 4 5	29,14,212 5 7½

Propaganda Province ..	6,31,595 1 11
Propaganda Districts ..	14,90,660 10 ½
	21,22,255 11 11½

ANNEXURE V—EXPENDITURE ON PROPAGANDA, KHADDAR, EDUCATION, ETC. IN 1922.

NAMES OF PROVINCES.	PROPAGANDA.			DISTRICTS.			KHADDAR.			EDUCATION.			TOTAL.		
	Rs.	a.	p	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p	Rs.	a.	p.
1. Bengal	43,741	0	0	6,540	0	0	....			2,715	0	0	52,996	0	0
2. Tamil Nadu	28,439	14	5	11,620	0	0	32,765	10	0	1,775	0	0	74,600	8	5
3. Andhra	36,590	12	6	931	4	0	....			....			37,522	0	6
4. Kerala	5,297	7	10	3,656	9	0	400	0	0	100	0	0	9,454	0	10
5. Bombay	26,805	3	6	28,321	14	5	54,254	5	4	*28,392	13	1	1,37,774	4	4
6. Gujrat	9,712	5	7½	....			2,75,888	6	4	38,500	0	0	3,24,100	11	11½
7. Maharashtra	4,670	3	9	....			500	0	0	3,770	6	9	8,949	10	6
8. Karnatak	2,698	10	9	....			....			...			2,698	10	9
9. Sindh	.....			....			....			...			.....		
10. United Provinces ..	24,910	8	9	11,678	11	3	2,000	0	0	....			38,589	4	0
11. Delhi	3,683	13	0	7,000	0	0	....			....			10,683	13	0
12. Ajmere Merwara, Rajputana	6,246	14	7	5,631	7	9	1,527	4	9	1,414	0	0	14,819	11	1
13. Behar	21,133	4	7	14,197	4	0	47,583	1	9*	31,582	10	9	1,14,496	5	1
14. Utkal	1,826	12	0	....			....			200	0	0	2,026	12	0
15. Punjab (32 Dists.) ..	1,27,385	8	4	17,025	11	4	....			34,222	0	6	1,78,633	4	2
16. C. P. Marathi	13,456	10	3	1,606	12	5	....			....			15,063	6	8
17. C. P. Hindustani ..	18,333	8	3	13,328	0	0	....			....			31,661	8	3
18. Berar	3,101	13	9	....			....			....			3101	13	9
19. Assam	13,311	15	6	420	0	0	25,000	0	0	....			38,731	15	6
20. Burma	6,576	15	3	....			26,309	1	0	....			32,886	0	3
	3,97,923	6	7½	1,21,957	10	2	4,66,227	13	2	1,42,680	15	1	11,28,789	13	9½
Add. Amount of T. S. F. retained by subordinate committees ..	.....			1,27,904	7	1	....			....			1,27,904	7	1
	3,976,923	6	7½	2,49,862	1	3	4,66,227	13	2	1,42,680	15	1	12,56,694	4	1½
**Less* amount received in the next year	.....			....			10,000	0	0	....			10,000	0	0
Total	3,97,923	6	7½	2,49,862	1	3	4,56,227	13	2	1,42,680	15	1	12,46,694	4	1½

ANNEXURE VI—EXPENDITURE ON PROPAGANDA, KHADDAR, EDUCATION ETC. IN 1923

Names of Provinces.	Amounts disbursed for propaganda, office, volunteers, famine, depressed classes, etc.	Amounts paid to districts for propaganda, etc.	Khaddar	Education.	Total.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1. Bengal.	23,399 10 3	100 0 0	....	9,906 0 9	33,405 11 0
2. Tamil Nadu	41,459 13 1	16,795 0 0	16,751 0 0	7,070 0 0	82,075 13 1
3. Andhra	23,324 13 2	4,376 9 0	....	....	27,701 6 2
4. Kerala	....	...	....	....	....
5. Bombay	28,546 9 3	21,853 14 6	5,00,000 0 0	86,374 0 11	6,36,774 8 8
6. Gujrat	38,510 8 6	...	97,977 10 6	994 13 0	1,37,483 0 0
7. Maharastra	8,043 2 0	941 9 6	....	....	8,984 11 6
8. Karnatak	...	....	....	....	....
9. Sindh	16,913 8 7	500 0 0	11,983 12 0	1,654 1 6	31,051 6 1
10. Delhi	5,582 6 9	550 0 0	....	600 0 0	6,732 6 9
11. Ajmere Merwara, Rajputana	3,949 4 8	50 8 0	....	251 0 0	4,250 12 8
12. United Provinces. ..	22,156 4 6	4,104 7 3	5,562 12 0	3,550 0 0	35,373 7 9
13. Behar	20,611 9 1½	12,904 4 0	18,739 10 3	26,675 9 0	78,931 0 4½*
14. Utkal	2,861 7 7½	....	....	....	2,861 7 7½
15. Punjab and N. W. Provinces	1,25,468 2 3	....	49,161 5 9	1,10,647 1 3	2,85,276 9 3†
16. C. P. Marathi	1,196 14 0	....	....	. ..	1,196 14 0
17. C. P. Hindustani ..	22,204 0 3	4,480 0 0	...	..—	26,684 0 3
18. Berar	3,538 12 0	....	....	....	3,538 12 0
19. Assam	....	....	. ..	....	....
20. Burma	8,252 7 6	....	....	....	8,252 7 6
Total Rs.	3,96,019 5 6	66,656 4 3	7,00,176 2 6	2,47,722 10 5	14,10,574 6 8
Amounts collected and retained by districts out of T. S. Fund ..	....	52,128 5 1	....	....	52,128 5 1
Transfer from All India to Khaddar Dept.	....	....	6,00,000 0 0	....	6,00,000 0 0
Total Rs.	3,96,019 5 6	1,18,784 9 4	13,00,176 2 6	2,47,722 10 5	20,62,702 11 9

* Rs. 5000 for College building.

† Including Rs. 33,292-13-2 for College building and Rs. 8,649-10-10 as shown against Andhra Rs. 75,745-4-0 transfer to N. Board of Education

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